

NOTES

Preface

1. Kalif Tal, *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 5.
2. Diana Pinto, "The New Jewish Europe: Challenges and Responsibilities," *European Judaism* 3.1 61 (1998) 3–15.

Chapter One Introduction

1. Statement by Martin Walser in a radio interview: "... egal wo sie ihren Wohnsitz jetzt haben wird. . . . es sei nicht der Ausweis, der sagt, wozu man gehört, sondern die Sprache. . . . Ruth Klüger ist zurückgekehrt in die deutsche Sprache; und die sofort auf meisterhafte Art." "Ruth Klüger zur Begrüßung," *Das Kulturjournal* Bayerischer Rundfunk, presented by Peter Hamm, September 27, 1992. Reprinted in Stephan Braese and Holger Gehle, "Von 'deutschen Freunden': Ruth Klüger's 'weiter leben. Eine Jugend' in der deutschen Rezeption," *Der Deutschunterricht* 47.6 (1995) 84–85. ". . . regardless of where she has her domicile, it is not the passport that tells where one belongs, but the language. . . . Ruth Klüger has returned in the German language; and immediately in a masterful way." My translation.
2. Neither German nor English has an adequate term for the 1933–1945 Nazi policies against the Jews that resulted in genocide. Within the Jewish survivor community the Hebrew terms *Churban* (*churbm* in Yiddish) and *sho'ah* were adopted (previously these had been used to refer to the destruction of the First and Second Temple). Since the 1950s in the United States, the term Holocaust has been in use (from the Greek *holokauston*, meaning "whole burnt" or sacrifice by fire). However, while neither the term Holocaust nor Shoah are quite satisfactory (as they both carry religious connotations), these are the names most commonly used, and I employ them both. On the importance of this naming of the Nazi genocide of the Jews, see James Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1988) 85–89.
3. I have articulated part of this argument in short form in Pascale Bos, "Return to Germany: German-Jewish Authors Seeking Address," *The Changing German/Jewish Symbiosis, 1945–2000*, ed. Jack Zipes and Leslie Morris (New York: Palgrave/St. Martin's Press, 2002) 203–206.
4. I use the term (Austro-)German Jews to discuss both cultures and identities simultaneously, as Austrian-Jewish culture was in many respects as German-oriented as German-Jewish culture (see my discussion of the German concept of *Bildung* in a later part in this chapter). I speak of Austrian and German Jews separately only when the political and cultural developments in the respective countries are discussed.
5. For the statistics of survivors and returnees, see Y. Michal Bodemann, "How can one stand to live here as a Jew . . .?: Paradoxes of Jewish Existence in Germany," *Jews, Germans, Memory: Reconstructions of Jewish Life in Germany*, ed. Y. Michal Bodemann (Ann Arbor: The

University of Michigan Press) 20. Before 1933 over half a million Jews lived in Germany. About half of this population escaped, another third was killed by the Nazis, 15,000 Jews survived in Germany in hiding, or were protected through their marriage with non-Jews. A few thousand German Jews had survived imprisonment in camps such as Theresienstadt. These survivors were joined by almost 220,000 Displaced Persons (DPs) (survivors who were living in DP camps in Germany) by the end of 1947. When the majority of these DPs had left by the early 1950s, only about 15,000 Jews were left in West Germany. Of this group, only about 6,000 formed the remnants of the original German-Jewish community of about 500,000 people. Austria had a Jewish population in 1938 of between 185,000 and 200,000 of which about 120,000 Jews managed to flee, and almost one-third was killed. After the war, about 6,000 Jews were left in Austria (mostly intermarried Jews). They were joined by a few thousand Austrian Jewish camp survivors, and by several thousands of Eastern European DPs who settled in Austria after the war. In total, 11,000 Jews were living in Austria at the end of the war.

6. Jean Améry, "How Much Home Does a Person Need?" *At The Mind's Limits: Contemplations by a Survivor on Auschwitz and its Realities*, trans. Sidney Rosenfeld and Stella P. Rosenfeld (New York: Schocken Books, 1990) 43–44.
7. Dan Diner, "Negative Symbiose: Deutsche und Juden nach Auschwitz," *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland seit 1945*, ed. Micha Brumlik, Doron Kiesel, Cilly Kugelmann, and Julius H. Schoeps (Frankfurt: Jüdischer Verlag bei Athenäum, 1986). "Since Auschwitz—what a sad joke—one can truly speak of a German-Jewish symbiosis, a negative one, however. For both Germans and Jews the fact of the mass murder has become the starting point of one's self-understanding, a kind of contradictory union—whether they want it or not" (243). My translation.
8. It is noteworthy that rather than return to Austria, many Austrian-Jewish survivors chose to live and publish in Germany rather than in Austria after the war. (For instance, Ilse Aichinger and Jean Améry. And of course with a forty-year delay, Klüger published her literature in Germany rather than Austria.) This phenomenon is a reflection of the problematic postwar response to Jewish survivors in Austria that made their return impossible, and of a long tradition of a strong German identification of many Austrian Jews. Yet, it also suggests that in some ways, the cultural climate in Germany after 1945 was perceived to be more receptive to Jewish input than that of Austria. For an elaborate discussion of the Austrian situation, see chapter four.
9. Katja Behrens could be added to this list, too, as her work debuted in 1983, but as she was born in 1943 she, technically speaking, belongs to the war generation.
10. Interesting publications of this period by female survivors: Inge Deutschkron (1978), Hanna Lévy-Hass (1979), Ingeborg Hecht (1984), Ruth Elias (1988), Anja Lundholm (1988), and Ruth Liepman (1993). A number of survivor authors who had written of their experiences shortly after the war in prose or poetry would now publish their memoirs: Lotte Paepcke (1979), Gerty Spies (1984), Hilde Spiel (1989–1992). None of these works has the quality of that of Weil or Klüger, however, and many of the memoirs have a relatively simple structure that does not question the genre or complicate the notion of a German audience. An author such as Cordelia Edvardson should be included here as well, but as Edvardson published in Swedish originally (in 1984, translated in 1990 to German), and thus, in terms of an address to the German audience she is more difficult to place.
11. See Young, *Writing* 17. "The Holocaust has compelled writers to assume the role of witness to criminal events, actually rehabilitating the mimetic impulse in these writers rather than burying it altogether. Holocaust writers . . . have assumed that the more realistic a representation, the more adequate it becomes as testimonial evidence. . . . For the survivor's witness to be credible, it must seem natural and unconstructed."
12. I first developed this notion based on feminist theory of autobiography, see among others: Sidonie Smith, *Subjectivity, Identity, and the Body: Women's Autobiographical Practices in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993). Smith considers

- autobiographical writing as an opportunity for women to actively negotiate with oppressive discourses. She thereby asserts that women can gain agency through writing, as language has the ability to allot the subject any position it desires. Shari Benstock suggests that writing autobiography can serve a specific, almost therapeutic function for women and other marginalized groups. Writing is "A means by which to create images of self through the writing act, a way by which to find a voice . . . through which to express that which can not be expressed in other forms" (5–6). Shari Benstock, *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988).
13. Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) 90.
 14. It has been in particular Cathy Caruth who has articulated the unique link between trauma and language, trauma and literature in such a way to cause a whole new generation of scholars to become interested in Holocaust literature: ". . . trauma seems to be much more than a pathology, or the simple illness of a wounded psyche: it is always *the story* of a wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available" (emphasis added). Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) 4. See also her introductory essay in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). In turn, many literary scholars of poststructuralist bend have become interested in trauma literature through Caruth's assertion that in our encounter with trauma "we can begin to recognize the possibility of a history that is no longer straightforwardly referential" (Caruth, *Unclaimed* 11). Although her work has come under heavy criticism lately for putting too much emphasis on analyzing what this story means for "us," the readers, scholars, rather than for the survivors (a critique which I share), and for implying that the stories of survivors can only truly be understood by those who interpret it, rather than by the survivors themselves (more on this later in this chapter), her nonclinical language on trauma has made the subject more accessible to many.
 15. These terms refer to slightly different processes. *The American Heritage Dictionary* 2nd College edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1985) defines to reify as "to regard or treat (an abstraction) as if it had concrete or material existence" (1042). To objectify can mean either "to present (something) as an object; externalize . . . to make objective" or "to rationalize" (857). Both processes apply here.
 16. Kenneth Jacobson, *Embattled Selves: An Investigation into the Nature of Identity Through Oral Histories of Holocaust Survivors* (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994) 8.
 17. Sander L. Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York: Routledge, 1991) 1. As "no one who identifies, either positively or negatively, with the label 'Jew' is immune from the power of [societal] stereotypes" (3).
 18. Moving descriptions of the results of this discrimination and isolation can be found in Margarete Limberg and Hubert Rübsaat, eds. *Sie dürfen nicht mehr Deutsche sein: Jüdischer Alltag in Selbstzeugnissen 1933–1938* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1990), a collection of essays written for a 1938 contest of German refugees in the United States. An example: "Das Ende war die Isolierung. Es gibt keine Isolierung, die nicht zu guter Letzt das Absterben des Isolierten zur Folge hatte" (172). "The end was isolation. There is no isolation that does not in the end lead to the dying off of the isolated [person]." My translation. The essays also show a deep conflict over identity and loyalty to the German homeland.
 19. Central to the conceptual problems of Freudian psychoanalysis in dealing with Holocaust survivors is that it considers trauma as caused by internal childhood conflict, stemming in particular from anxieties and fantasies connected to sexuality.
 20. Bruno Bettelheim's work in particular did much damage to the image of survivors, as he focused on their "narcissistic regression," and suggested that many underwent a process of infantilization during their imprisonment. Bettelheim based his work on his personal

- observations during a brief concentration camp stay before 1939 whereby he concluded that those who were strong, autonomous, and self-sufficient could resist the impact of the Nazi humiliation, and survive with their psyche intact. In contrast, he asserted that those who suffered from lasting after-effects must have been psychically weak before they entered the camps. Bettelheim's work has been discredited since the 1980s, but his views have been quite influential. Bruno Bettelheim, *The Informed Heart* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960). For a discussion of the influence of Bettelheim on the field of Holocaust studies in the United States, see Kalí Tal, *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), chapter 2.
21. William G. Niederland was the first to coin the term "survivor syndrome" in 1968 for a group of symptoms commonly found among survivors. A "survivor's syndrome" is characterized by anxiety, chronic depressive states, disturbances of cognition and memory, a tendency to isolate and withdraw, and many psychosomatic complaints. Niederland, "Clinical Observations on the 'Survivor Syndrome': Symposium on Psychic Traumatization through Social Catastrophe," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 49 (1968) 313–315. Since the 1980s, it is recognized that this syndrome is part of a larger phenomenon of PTSD, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. See also Caruth, *Trauma* 3–12.
 22. To give an indication of the volume of this scholarship: in 1995 a bibliography was compiled that counted 2,461 citations of literature written between 1945 and 1995 on the medical and psychological consequences of the Holocaust on survivors and their children. Robert Krell and Marc Sherman, eds., *Medical and Psychological Effects of Concentration Camps on Holocaust Survivors*, Vol. 4, *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997). Today, several hundred more books would have to be added to update this list.
 23. Jack Terry, "The Damaging Effects of the 'Survivor Syndrome,'" *Psychoanalytic Reflections on the Holocaust: Selected Essays*, ed. Steven A. Luel and Paul Marcus (New York: Holocaust Awareness Institute, Center for Judaic Studies University of Denver, KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1984) 139.
 24. Translation in: Grete Weil, *My Sister, My Antigone*, trans. Krishna Winston (New York: Avon Books, 1984) 146. The original reads: "Wir sind nicht mehr das, was wir noch vor kurzem waren. Zumindest in den Augen der anderen. Aber es ist ausgeschlossen, sich in den Augen der anderen zu verändern, ohne daß im eigenen Sein etwas passiert." Grete Weil, *Meine Schwester Antigone* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschen Buch Verlag, 1982) 111. Ruth Klüger expresses a similar sentiment (through her own free translation of a poem by W.B. Yeats): "How in the name of Heaven can he escape / That defiling and disfigured shape / The mirror of malicious eyes / Casts upon his eyes until at last / He thinks that shape must be his shape?" Ruth Klüger, *Still Alive: A Holocaust Girlhood Remembered* (New York: The Feminist Press, 2001) 47. In the German original, the similarities with Weil's statement (above) are quite striking: "Man sieht sich im Spiegel boshafter Augen, und man entgeht dem Bild nicht, denn die Verzerrung fällt zurück auf die eigenen Augen, bis man ihr glaubt und sich selbst für verunstaltet hält." Klüger, *weiter leben: Eine Jugend* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1992) 46–47.
 25. Klüger, *Still Alive* 192.
 26. For an insightful reading of Diner, see Jack Zipes, "The Negative German-Jewish Symbiosis," *Insiders and Outsiders: Jewish and Gentile Culture in Germany and Austria*, C.G. Dagmar Lorenz and Gabriele Weinberger (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994) 144–154.
 27. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) 66–67.
 28. Sander Gilman, "Jewish Writing in Its German and Jewish Contexts: Two Jewish Writers," *Jews in Today's German Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) 42.
 29. Gershom Scholem, one of the most outspoken critics to represent this view, thus argued in 1962 that the famed dialogue between German and Jews never really had taken place: "I deny that there has ever been such a German-Jewish dialogue in any genuine sense whatsoever. . . . It takes two to have a dialogue . . . Nothing can be more misleading than to apply such a

- concept to the discussions between Germans and Jews during the last 200 years. This dialogue died at its very start and never took place. Jews had instead only spoken to themselves, as the discussion they held with Germans was always based on 'self-denial.' Jews could only speak to Germans as Germans, and not as Jews. Scholem, "Against the Myth of the German-Jewish Dialogue," *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis: Selected Essays*, ed. and trans. Werner J. Dannhauser (New York: Schocken Books, 1976) 61–62. See also his essay "Once More: The German Jewish Dialogue" in the same volume. Scholem, *On Jews and Judaism* 62. For a good overview of these different views on assimilation and German Jews see Michael Marrus, "European Jewry and the Politics of Assimilation: Assessment and Reassessment," *Journal of Modern History* 49 (1979) 89–109.
30. Michael Bernstein, *Foregone Conclusions: Against Apocalyptic History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) 16–17.
 31. "Durch Auschwitz seien Deutschtum und Judentum für immer dissoziiert," Christoph Schulte, ed., *Deutschtum und Judentum: Ein Disput unter Juden in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1993) 7.
 32. Bernstein suggests that in practicing "backshadowing," one uses the knowledge of the outcome of a series of events ". . . to judge the participants in those events as though they should have known what was to come" (16). These kinds of analyses are perhaps even more common today, as we move further away in time from the historical events that might explain the particular circumstances to us. In light of what later occurred at Auschwitz, "muß jener alte Diskurs um Deutschtum und Judentum tragisch, wenn nicht absurd erscheinen," Schulte suggests (8). "Every old discourse on Germanness and Judaism must seem tragic, if not absurd." My translation. This changes our assessment: "Sollten vor der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus deutscher und jüdischer Geist noch vermählt werden, werden sie danach um so radikaler geschieden. Hatte man zuvor nach Indizien gesucht, warum Deutschtum und Judentum füreinander bestimmt seien, sucht man danach oft nur noch die Vorzeichen der Katastrophe" (Schulte, *Deutschtum* 8). "If before the time of National Socialism one sought to unite the German and the Jewish spirit afterwards, they were all the more radically separated from each other. If one had earlier looked for indications of why Germans and Jews were meant for each other, afterwards one searched often only for the forebodings of the catastrophe." My translation. An example of the kind of troubling conclusions this can lead to can be seen in John Dippel, *Bound upon a Wheel of Fire: Why so Many German Jews made the Tragic Decision to Remain in Nazi Germany* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996), in which the tragedy of the German-Jewish persecution is seen as historically inevitable, and therefore in its logical extreme preventable through emigration. Jews who were caught in Nazi nets were de facto themselves responsible for their deadly fate, Dippel seems to argue.
 33. Only a few German historians have noted this. See Trude Mauer, "Die Juden der Weimarer Republik," *Zerbrochene Geschichte: Leben und Selbstverständnis der Juden in Deutschland*, ed. Dirk Blasius and Dan Diner (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1991) and Reinhard Rürup, "Jüdische Geschichte in Deutschland: Von der Emanzipation bis zur nationalsozialistischer Gewaltherrschaft," *Zerbrochene Geschichte*, ed. Blasius and Diner.
 34. For what one is, or how one sees oneself, or how one is seen by others "is produced and reproduced against a complex of social, cultural, technological, and economic conditions." David Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz, "Introduction: The Culture of Identity," *Jewish Identity*, ed. David Theo Goldberg and Michael Krausz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993) 1.
 35. Shulamith Volkov, "The Dynamics of Dissimilation: Ostjuden and German Jews," *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From the Enlightenment to the Second World War*, ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Walter Schatzberg (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985).
 36. As Marion Kaplan points out, the definition of assimilation (merger with host culture, loss of own culture) does not fit a historical reality in which there was a real desire to preserve Jewishness, for this definition does not allow for what we would now call ethnic pluralism.

- Marion Kaplan, "Tradition and Transition—The Acculturation, Assimilation, and Integration of Jews in Imperial Germany—A Gender Analysis," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1982) 4–7.
37. This movement started in the early eighteenth century in Germany in response to the Enlightenment, and suggested a reorientation from Talmud and *halacha* (Jewish law) to the Bible, Hebrew language, and secular academic learning. The goal was initially to integrate formerly isolated Talmudic Jews into secular Enlightenment culture, and later, when secularization had become widespread, to integrate a more modern form of Judaism into the secular life of the Jew (e.g., by the mid-nineteenth century, as knowledge of Hebrew was waning among Germans, many Jewish religious organizations switched to the exclusive use of German). For an in-depth analysis of the development of *Haskalah*, see David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry 1780–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), chapters 2 and 3.
 38. That is, "Aus jüdischen Familien wurden deutsche Familien jüdischer Religion und mit gewissen jüdischen Traditionen." Rürüp, *Jüdische Geschichte in Deutschland* 88. "Out of Jewish families became German families of Jewish faith with certain Jewish traditions." My translation. The transition of these terms of self-definition suggests a new emphasis on national rather than religious or ethnic identity as it proposed a parallel identity (and comparable legal status) with Germans of Protestant, or Catholic Faith. A reversal of this term would later take place again under the Nazis: "Eine . . . Verwandlung deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens in Deutsche Juden." "A . . . transformation of German citizens of Jewish faith into German Jews." My translation. Dan Diner "Die Katastrophe vor der Katastrophe: Auswanderung ohne Einwanderung," *Zerbrochene Geschichte*, ed. Blasius and Diner, 148.
 39. Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) viii.
 40. Paula E. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representations of Women* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995) 18–19. Kaplan, "Ritual waned more slowly among Jewish women . . . they experienced less dissonance between religious practice and their daily routines than men. Their private world was more traditional than modern . . . for many, the year followed the pattern of religious festivals." Kaplan, *The Making* 77.
 41. Kaplan, *The Making* 3.
 42. Sorkin, *The Transformation* 38.
 43. George Mosse suggests that Jews specifically were attracted to *Bildung* because "the age into which a minority is emancipated will to a large extent determine the priorities of its self-identification, not only at the time of emancipation itself but into the future as well." Mosse, "Jewish Emancipation: Between Bildung and Respectability," *The Jewish Response to German Culture*, ed. Reinhartz and Schatzberg 1. Through *Bildung*, Jews searched for a common ground with other Germans that would transcend a history in which they did not have a part. What emerged, however, was the formation of a Jewish "subculture." Sorkin, *The Transformation* 2–9.
 44. Kaplan, *The Making* 234.
 45. About 176,000, or 90% of Austria's Jews lived in Vienna in 1938.
 46. Steven Beller, *Vienna and the Jews, 1867–1938: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 152.
 47. Marsha Rozenblitt, *The Jews in Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1983) 3. Ethnic pride was arguably stronger in Vienna than elsewhere, as Vienna had a much higher and constant influx of traditional Jews from Hungary and Galicia than German cities (240).
 48. Austria in many respects mirrored the development of the Enlightenment and Emancipation in Germany (legal Emancipation for Jews was in fact granted earlier in Austria than in Germany). Furthermore, formerly a part of the Holy Roman Empire of the Germans over

- which the Habsburgs ruled for centuries, Austria was in many respects still a German state by the nineteenth century, even though cessation from Germany had taken place in 1866. See Gerhard Botz, "The Jews of Vienna from the Anschluß to the Holocaust," *Eine zerstörte Kultur: Jüdisches Leben und Antisemitismus im Wien seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerhard Botz, Ivar Oxaal, and Michael Pollak (Obermayer: Druck und Verlag, 1990) 185–204.
49. Shulamit Magnus, "'Out of the Ghetto': Integrating the Study of Jewish Women into the Study of 'The Jews,'" *Judaism* 39.1 (1990) 28.
 50. In the traditional versions of Jewish cultural history, most women are "treated as passive appendages of male actors . . . Presuming that the experiences of women and men were essentially identical, historians spoke explicitly of men but implied that women were included in the category of man." Paula Hyman, "Gender and Jewish History," *Tikkun* 3.1 (1988) 35.
 51. An extended version of the following argument can be found in Pascale Bos, "Women and the Holocaust: Analyzing Gender Difference," *Experience and Expression: Women, the Nazis and the Holocaust*, ed. Elizabeth Baer and Myrna Goldenberg (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003) 23–50.
 52. See Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation*, Kaplan, *The Making*.
 53. George Mosse, *German Jews beyond Judaism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), Donald L. Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980), and Sorokin.
 54. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation* 20.
 55. Kaplan, *The Making* viii.
 56. See for instance the work of Myrna Goldenberg, "Lessons Learned from Gentle Heroism: Women's Holocaust Narratives," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 548 (1996) 78–93. "Testimony, Narrative, and Nightmare: The Experiences of Jewish Women in the Holocaust," *Active Voices: Women in Jewish Culture*, ed. Maurice Sacks (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995) 94–106. Or that of Joan Ringelheim, "The Unethical and the Unspeakable: Women and the Holocaust," *Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual* 1 (1984) 69–87. "Women and the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research," *Signs* 10.4 (1985): 741–761.
 57. One of the few analyses that also suggests this kind of an interpretation of gender difference can be found in Sara Horowitz, "Memory and Testimony of Women Survivors of Nazi Genocide," *Women of the Word: Jewish Women and Jewish Writing*, ed. Judith R. Baskin (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1996) 258–282, and Karen Remmler, "Gender Identities and the Remembrance of the Holocaust," *Women in German Yearbook* 10 (1994) 167–187.
 58. See Elizabeth Loftus et al., "Who Remembers What? Gender Differences in Memory," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 26.1 (1987) 64–85. This research suggests that males and females do not differ in overall memory ability, but that motivation and training (i.e., socialization) significantly affects the content of what is remembered. Because men and women tend to believe that there are in fact very distinct sex differences in memory, this belief affects later recall as it creates a "memory preference." Loftus et al. conclude that "differences in the unverified memories that men and women elicit when asked to generate a memory are more indicative of their memory preferences than their memory ability" (76).
 59. Weil is now included in Andreas B. Kilcher, ed., *Metzler's Lexikon der deutsch-jüdischen Literatur* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2000), and in Hans J. Schütz, *Eure Sprache ist auch meine: Eine deutsch-jüdische Literaturgeschichte* (Zürich: Pendo, 2000).
 60. For a critical analysis of this absence, see Ernst Loewy, "Zur Paradigmenwechsel in der Exilliteraturforschung" *Exilforschung* 9 (1991) 208–219.
 61. Alan Mintz, "Two Models in the Study of Holocaust Representation," *Popular Culture and the Shaping of Holocaust Memory in America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001) 38–on. Mintz distinguishes the "exceptionalist model" from a second model, a "constructivist" one that instead "stresses the cultural lens through which the Holocaust is perceived" (39). American scholars have focused either on the centrality of the Holocaust for the modern

- Jewish experience, or for its moral implications for Western civilization as a whole. See, for instance, Lawrence Langer, *The Holocaust and the Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975) and Alvin Rosenfeld, *A Double Dying: Reflections on Holocaust Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980). These works discuss survivor literature without emphasis on the nationality of the author, or even the original language their work was written in, or the reception it received. David G. Roskies' *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984) instead focuses exclusively on Jewish authors whereby nationality matters less than the degree to which the author connects his or her work to a millennia-long history of Jewish destruction. Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi in her study, *By Words Alone: The Holocaust in Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) follows a somewhat similar principle.
62. Early examples are Günter Grimm and Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer, eds. *Im Zeichen Hiobs: Jüdische Schriftsteller und deutsche Literatur im 20. Jahrhundert* (Königstein: Athenäum, 1985), and Hans J. Schütz, *Juden in der deutschen Literatur: Eine deutsch-jüdische Literaturgeschichte im Überblick* (München: Piper, 1992). See for more recent work Stephan Braese, Holger Gehle, Doron Kiesel, and Hanno Loewy, eds. *Deutsche Nachkriegsliteratur und der Holocaust* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1998) and Stephan Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung: Jüdische Autoren in der westdeutschen Nachkriegsliteratur* (Berlin: Philo, 2001).
 63. Work by among others, Sander Gilman, Anson Rabinbach, Jack Zipes, Dagmar Lorenz, Leslie Adelson, and Leslie Morris.
 64. For instance, *Germanic Review* devoted an entire issue to "Women in Exile" not until 1987, and *Exilforschung's* first volume focusing on women authors in exile was published only in 1993. This suggests that a broader interest in the topic (among male as well as female scholars and a general audience) is only of fairly recent date.
 65. This exclusion can be seen in many collections: Grimm contains seventeen essays on specific authors, but only two of those essays deal with female writers. See also Klara Pomeranz Carmely, *Das Identitätsproblem jüdischer Autoren im deutschen Sprachraum: Von der Jahrhundertwende bis zu Hitler* (Königstein: Scriptor, 1981), or the work of Marcel Reich-Ranicki. If female authors are discussed in the work of German language scholars at all, they tend to be the same few figures: Nelly Sachs, Elske Lasker-Schüler, Anna Seghers, and Gertrud Kolmar. Dagmar C.G. Lorenz is the only scholar who consistently discusses female authors along with male authors and who allots these authors an equal measure of attention. See in particular *Verfolgung bis zum Massenmord: Holocaust-Diskurse in deutscher Sprache aus der Sicht der Verfolgten* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992) and *Keepers of the Motherland: German Texts by Jewish Women Writers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), which focuses on women exclusively. Lorenz, however, lives and teaches in the U.S.
 66. "In its crassest form, this mode of [feminist] reception equated the victimization of women in patriarchal societies with that experienced by Jews under National Socialism. . . . In contrast, literature written by Jewish women—whether survivors of the Holocaust or members of subsequent generations—were largely ignored by many German feminists and literary critics." Leslie A. Adelson, "1971 'Ein Sommer in der Woche der Itke K. by American born author Jeanette Lander is published,'" *Yale Companion*, ed. Gilman and Zipes 749. Susannah Heschel suggests that this inability of German feminists to look at the past critically is in part caused by the difficulty of facing and assessing the role their mother's generation had played during the Hitler years. For if they face the past by arguing that German women were powerless, they have to admit that almost all women failed to resist Nazism, and that some even actively collaborated with the Nazis. Susannah Heschel, "Configurations of Patriarchy, Judaism, and Nazism in German Feminist Thought," *Gender and Judaism: The Transformation of Tradition*, ed. Tamar M. Rudavsky (New York: New York University Press, 1995) 137.
 67. Thus, a recent anthology such as *Facing Fascism and Confronting the Past*, while containing good essays on individual authors (considering both Jewish and non-Jewish women who

wrote “against” Fascism) does not contain any sustained analysis of the role of German-Jewish survivor authors within postwar German culture. Elke P. Frederiksen, and Martha Kaarsberg Wallach, eds. *Facing Fascism and Confronting the Past: German Women Writers from Weimar to the Present* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000). Then again, in a text such as *Postwar Women’s Writing in German*, edited by Chris Weedon, one finds some discussion of women’s writing of the 1980s and 1990s, but no explicit discussion of Jewish women authors in this particular changing literary landscape. Chris Weedon, ed., *Postwar Women’s Writing in German* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997). Finally, in Dagmar Lorenz’s *Keepers of the Motherland*, an elaborate study of the lives and works of over forty German-Jewish women authors spanning more than three centuries, such an extensive selection of texts and authors is discussed that this leads to relatively brief sketches of each author’s life and work, with no space for an in-depth analysis of individual works, or of a broader analysis of the context in which each of these works emerged. Furthermore, the work’s structure as a broad literary history does not allow for a complex analysis of the issues of Holocaust representation.

68. A few essays exist on both authors’ works, but no scholarly monographs have appeared in English with such a focus. One monograph appeared on Weil in German: Uwe Meyer’s “*Neinsagen, die einzige unzerstörbare Freiheit*”: *Das Werk der Schriftstellerin Grete Weil* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996). Based as it is on a dissertation, the study is long, repetitive, and not accessible to a broader audience. Another German dissertation which focuses in part on Weil’s work is Carmen Giese’s *Das Ich im literarischen Werk von Grete Weil und Klaus Mann: Zwei autobiographische Gesamtkonzepte* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1997). The recent Weil biography by Lisbeth Exner, *Land meiner Mörder, Land meiner Sprache: Die Schriftstellerin Grete Weil* (München: Monacensia/A1 Verlag, 1998) is useful for biographical details, but contains no literary analysis. Stephan Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* contains several good chapters on Weil and other Jewish authors, but discusses only part of her oeuvre. A few scholars in the United States publish on Weil’s work but only in (short) article form, and most write only on Weil’s *Antigone* novel. See Moray Mc Gowan, “Myth, Memory, Testimony, Jewishness in Grete Weil’s *Meine Schwester Antigone*,” *European Memories of the Second World War*, ed. Helmut Peitsch, Charles Burdett, and Claire Gorrara (New York: Berghahn Books, 1999) 149–158; Michelle Mattson, “Classical Kinship and Personal Responsibility: Grete Wei’s ‘Meine Schwester Antigone’,” *Seminar* 37.1 (Feb. 2001) 53–72 Miriam Fuchs; and Susanne Baackmann. Dagmar Lorenz, Leslie Adelson, and Laureen Nussbaum do discuss Weil’s work in a broader context, but they do not discuss Weil’s entire oeuvre. Quite a few German journalistic publications exist on Klüger, but remarkably little academic scholarship. Stephan Braese and Holger Gehle compiled a *Der Deutschunterricht* volume on the reception of her work in 1995, there is a school-edition interpretation of her work by Irene Leonard Heidelberger, *Ruth Klüger: weiter leben. Eine Jugend* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1996), and Eva Lezzi’s, *Zerstörte Kindheit: Literarische Autobiographien zur Shoah* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2001) contains a chapter on Klüger. In the United States, Dagmar Lorenz has published an article on Klüger’s *weiter leben*, Karein Goertz mentions her work in “Body, Trauma, and the Rituals of Memory: Charlotte Delbo and Ruth Klüger,” *Shaping Losses: Cultural Memory and the Holocaust*, ed. Julia Epstein and Lori Hope Lefkowitz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001) 161–185, and Michael Rothberg’s *Traumatic Realism: The Demands of Holocaust Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) contains a chapter on her work.
69. Apart from the studies I have already mentioned, works such as (in order of date of publication): Maurice Blanchot, *The Writing of the Disaster*, trans. Ann Smock (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), Alice Yaeger Kaplan, *Reproductions of Banality: Fascism, Literature, and French Intellectual Life* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), Eric Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), Saul Friedländer, ed., *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the “Final*

Solution" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), Geoffrey Hartman, ed., *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1994), Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), and *History and Memory after Auschwitz* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), and *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), Ernst van Alphen, *Caught by History: Holocaust Effects in Contemporary Art, Literature, and Theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), Andrea Liss, *Trespassing through Shadows: Memory, Photography & the Holocaust* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), Barbie Zelizer, *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory through the Camera's Eye* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), and Barbie Zelizer, ed., *Visual Culture and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), Vivian M. Petraka, *Spectacular Suffering: Theatre, Fascism, and the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), Julia Epstein and Lori Hope Lefkowitz, eds., *Shaping Losses: Cultural Memory and the Holocaust* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), Michael Bernard-Donals and Richard Glejzer, *Between Witness and Testimony: The Holocaust and the Limits of Representation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), Susan Gubar, *Poetry After Auschwitz: Remembering What One Never Knew* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), and Amy Hungerford, *The Holocaust of Texts: Genocide, Literature, and Personification* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

70. The body of analytical work on oral (video) testimony published in the past ten years by historians, psychologists, literary critics, and Holocaust scholars is remarkable, as is the proliferation of individual as well as institutional efforts to create videotaped records of the survivors who are still alive. For interesting recent work on oral Holocaust testimony see Felman and Laub, Caruth, Young, *Writing and Rewriting*, chapter 9. John Bornemann and Jeffrey Peck, *Sojourners: The Return of German Jews and the Question of Identity* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), Geoffrey Hartman, "Learning from Survivors: Notes on the Video Archive at Yale," *Remembering for the Future: The Impact of the Holocaust on the Contemporary World*, ed. Yehuda Bauer et al. (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989), R. Ruth Linden, *Making Stories, Making Selves: Feminist Reflections on the Holocaust* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993), and Jacobson, *Embattled Selves*.
71. This anxiety over the loss of survivors, I believe, has been the central source of motivation (and funding) for these new forms of inquiry that focus on video testimony.
72. Lawrence Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies: The Ruins of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991) 46. This kind of reading of video testimony moves away from a detailed reading of the cultural construction of Holocaust memory, and focuses instead on the "immediacy" of the testimony. Langer's well-respected study argues that the literary narrative tends to transform reality more so than the oral narrative does, as "survivors who record their accounts unavoidably introduce some kind of teleology, inverting the incidents with a meaning" (40). Conversely, he asserts that oral testimony "is distinguished by the absence of literary mediation" (57). He defines this absence as follows: "Beyond dispute in oral testimony is that every word spoken falls directly from the lips of the witness. Not as much can be said for written testimony that is openly or silently edited" (210). Langer privileges these spoken "versions of survival, without literary echo" (46) as he naively assumes that there is no "mediating factor" involved in oral testimony. The fact that Langer overlooks the mediating function of the interviewer is particularly puzzling as there are several instances in his book in which he describes interviewers as interfering with the survivor's testimony through their comments, questions, and response (63–64, 158). For a critical analysis of Langer's work, see Gary Weissman, "Lawrence Langer and 'The Holocaust Experience,'" *Response: A Contemporary Jewish Review* 68 (1997/1998) 93.

73. Studies that focus on the medium of photography have made this point particularly clear: Hirsch (1997), Liss (1991 and 1998), Zelizer's (1998 and 2001) work, and Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).
74. This is also reflected in more self-conscious forms of testimony. Thus, Michael Rothberg argues that: "the need for a rethinking of realism is signaled by the emergence in the last decades of various new forms of testimonial and documentary art and cultural production" (9).
75. Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience* 11.
76. Caruth, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* 5.
77. Hirsch, *Family Frames* 21–23. Hirsch refers specifically to the experience of those who have come to learn of the Holocaust *after* the events occurred, and I would count the work of most Holocaust scholars here as forms of "postmemory" work. See also "Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy," *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999) 2–23, and "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14.1 (2001) 5–37.
78. Leys suggests that there is a wide diversity of opinion about the nature of trauma (something she clearly appreciates and would like to retain, including the contradictions and uncertainties), but that this diversity has been obscured "by the post-Vietnam effort to integrate the field" (6). She regrets that at this point the field is dominated by a notion of "nonnarrative" traumatic memory, that is, by the notion that traumatic events are encoded in the brain in a different way than ordinary memory. She argues that there is no proof for this neurobiological assertion (popularized by Bessel van der Kolk on whose work Caruth relies to build her case for psychic trauma), and that it leads to "dangerous" kinds of conclusions "among certain postmodern literary circles" (7). She criticizes that these theorists (she targets Caruth, Felman, and Laub here) on the one hand hold that the Holocaust has "precipitated, perhaps caused, an epistemological–ontological crisis of witnessing, a crisis manifested at the level of language itself" (168), but on the other hand suggest that the testimony of the survivor can succeed in reaching us, the listeners by passing on trauma, "horror itself" (168). In so doing, they collapse history into memory, and fail to distinguish between trauma experienced and trauma witnessed, making us all potentially "traumatized" by our encounter with the Holocaust, Leys argues. Leys believes that Caruth in particular dilutes and generalizes the notion of trauma too much: "in her account the experience (or nonexperience) of trauma is characterized as something that can be shared by victims and nonvictims alike, and the unbearable sufferings of the survivor as a pathos that can and must be appropriated by others" (305). Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).
79. I see this tendency more clearly in the work by Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub than in Caruth. As Tal, a particularly fierce critic of Felman and Laub points out: "Felman and Laub are entirely concerned with reenactment of the traumatic event in the psyches of those who 'encounter the real'" (53). In their work, Tal suggests, "the survivor's experience has been completely replaced by the experience of those who come in contact with the survivor's testimony—an appropriative gambit of stunning proportions. We are treated to a new traumatic phenomenon: 'the crisis of witnessing'" (53–54). The difference between the survivor's trauma and the effects it has on the listener or reader (which they also choose to describe as traumatic) disappears. Furthermore, the underlying assumption in their study is that survivors cannot bear witness to themselves, but are in need of interpreters (read: scholars, psychoanalysts) who can tell them what their stories really mean.
80. The ethical question remains of whether one should write Holocaust literature even if one found the language to do so, for as van Alphen suggests, the audience may derive aesthetic pleasure from reading these works, which in the case of the Holocaust is a problematic prospect (19–20). This particular dilemma is a central point of contention in van Alphen's study on Holocaust art.

81. Lorenz argues: "Nach 1945 stand der Mythos von der Unaussprechlichkeit des Holocausterlebnisses der Rezeption der Holocaustliteratur im Wege." "After 1945, the myth about the unspeakability of the Holocaust experience stood in the way of the reception of Holocaust literature." Lorenz, *Verfolgung* 4. My translation. Arguing on the basis of Adorno's statement that this literature could by definition not be written allowed scholars to dismiss all the work that was published as mediocre, or worse, as inappropriate. Adorno, however, did not argue that one could and should not write *at all* after Auschwitz, but pleaded for the rejection of the writing of a *certain kind* of lyrical prose after Auschwitz, namely, the "conservative continuation of pre-1933 poetic forms and themes that dominated poetic writing throughout the fascist years . . .," as he feared that by "affirming traditional poetics, such writing would be unable to overcome impotence in reacting to the devastations of fascism." Leonard Olschner, "1951 In his essay 'Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft,' Theodor W. Adorno states that it is barbaric to write poetry after Auschwitz," *Yale Companion*, ed. Gilman and Zipes 692. For a compelling reading of Adorno, see Rothberg, chapter 1 "After Adorno: Culture in the Wake of the Catastrophe" (25–58).
82. Central questions in these critical studies were: how to represent atrocity on a scale which prior to its occurrence was unimaginable; how to do justice to the magnitude of the events, the severity, cruelty, and the impact on the individual survivor as well as the individual Jewish communities in Europe; how to find the appropriate language; which kinds of representations are effective; which are insufficient, which are unacceptable?
83. Horowitz, *Voicing the Void: Muteness and Memory in Holocaust Friction* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997) 17.
84. I borrow this phrase from Young, *Writing* 23.
85. Young, *Writing*. See in particular the introductory chapter.
86. Lea Wernick Fridman, *Words and Witness: Narrative and Aesthetic Strategies in the Representation of the Holocaust* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000) 3–4.
87. Mintz, *Popular Culture* 54.
88. Mintz, *Popular Culture* 57. Mintz in fact argues that these narratives should be read as "inverted bildungsromans that recount the story of how the hero unlearns what culture has taught and learns the ways of death and survival of the new concentrationary 'planet'" (57). While I think this schema is too simplistic, Mintz's emphasis on the importance of the particularity of different cultural lenses of survivor authors is a useful corrective.

Chapter Two The Jewish Return to Germany

1. "In beiden Ländern stelle ich fest, dass ich mit Menschen, die nichts oder fast nichts mitgemacht haben, nicht zusammenleben könnte." Weil, *Leb ich denn wenn andere leben* (Zürich Köln: Benziger Verlag, 1980) 241. My translation.
2. "Ich hätte auch 45 in kein intaktes Land gehen können, das hätte mich rasend gemacht . . ." Weil as quoted in Laureen Nussbaum and Uwe Meyer, "Grete Weil: unbequem, zum Denken zwingend," *Exilforschung* 11 (1993) 159. My translation.
3. Weil, *Der Brautpreis* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991) 138. First published by Nagel & Kimche AG in Zürich and Frauenfeld, 1988. Translation comes from *The Bride Price*, trans. John Barrett (Boston: David R. Godine, 1991) 103. See also Weil as quoted in Nussbaum and Meyer: "Deutschland war ebenso kaputt wie ich selbst, und das war genau das Richtige für mich" (159). "Germany was just as damaged as I was, and that was exactly right for me." My translation.
4. Nussbaum and Meyer "Grete Weil" 159. My translation of: "Ob ich es mag oder nicht—und sehr oft mag ich es nicht— ich bin ein Deutsche." See also a very similar statement in Weil's writing in *Brautpreis*: "Immer wieder werde ich gefragt, warum ich nach Deutschland zurückging. Es ist mein Land, in dem meine Sprache gesprochen wird. Es bleibt mein Land,

- ob ich es mag oder nicht. (Und sehr oft mag ich es nicht)" (165). "I was always asked again why I went back to Germany. It is my country, in which they speak my language. It remains my land, whether I like it or not." My translation.
5. "Ich will nach Hause, auch wenn ich weiß, dass alles, was ich früher geliebt habe, nicht mehr existiert. Ich will dorthin, wo ich hergekommen bin. Das Heimweh ist nicht kleiner, sondern größer geworden in all den Jahren." Weil, *Leb ich denn* 236. My translation.
 6. "Um mich war Haß, den ich verstehen, den ich nicht teilen konnte. Manchmal schlug er auf mich zurück, wenn ich leise bekannte, daß ich nach Deutschland wollte. Verrückt, charakterlos, vergeßlich, das alles bekam ich zu hören." Meyer, *Neinsagen* 141. "Around me was hate, that I could understand, but not share. Sometimes it was directed at me when I softly confessed that I wanted to go to Germany. [I was] Crazy, without character, forgetful, all these things I came to hear." My translation.
 7. "Trotz dieser Erkenntnis [of her Jewishness] ist es mir versagt geblieben, das Volkshafte des Judentums für mich zu akzeptieren." Weil in letter (August 1947) to German-Jewish author Margarete Susman, reprinted in *Lebe ich denn* 251. "Despite this realization it has been impossible for me to accept the [notion of] Jewish peoplehood for myself." My translation.
 8. "Ich habe die Heimat Deutschland verloren und keine andere dafür gefunden." Letter to Susman, reprinted in *Lebe ich denn* 252. My translation.
 9. This relationship is also one of the—rarely mentioned—other reasons for Weil's early return to Germany. In the 1947 letter to Susman Weil mentions this relationship as a prominent justification for her return. *Leb ich denn* 254.
 10. A "sogenannte gute Erziehung." "A so-called good education." Grete Weil, *Meine Schwester Antigone* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982) 6–7. First published by Benziger Verlag in Zürich and Köln in 1980. The page numbers of quotations from this work correspond to those from the Fischer edition. Grete Weil, *My Sister, My Antigone*, trans. Krishna Winston (New York: Avon Books, 1984). I quote from the English edition when possible, but when the translation is lacking, I provide my own translation of the German text.
 11. Some parts of this chapter (the discussion of Weil's background and the discussion of two of her early novels) have appeared in short form in Bos, "Return to Germany" 206–208.
 12. Sorkin, *The Transformation* 38.
 13. "Unter den Deutschen kann ich leben. Sie sprechen meine Sprache, haben die gleichen Dichter, die gleiche notwendige oder unnötige Bildung." Weil, *Generationen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1985) 72. "I can live among the Germans. They speak my language, have the same poets, the same necessary or unnecessary upbringing/cultivation." My translation.
 14. For instance, Weil's family celebrated Christmas. It was a family gathering with lots of food and a tree, but decidedly without any Christian practice. Weil, *Generationen* 58.
 15. Weil, *My Sister* 146.
 16. Weil, *Antigone* 112. See also *Brautpreis* 10. This lack of a connection to Judaism as a *religious practice*—even a domestic form of it—seems to contradict Kaplan and Hyman's research, mentioned earlier, which suggests that generally speaking, women were less assimilated than men. I return to this point later.
 17. Weil, *My Sister* 147.
 18. Weil, *My Sister* 147.
 19. "Ich will schreiben, deutsch schreiben, in einer anderen Sprache ist es mir unmöglich, und dazu brauche ich eine Umgebung, in der die Menschen deutsch sprechen." Weil, *Leb ich denn* 236. My translation.
 20. "Da zu sein und vielleicht Verschüttetes auszugraben ist kein Verrat an den Toten sondern der tastende Versuch, ihr geliebtes und geheiligtes Leben nicht ganz verwehen zu lassen, solange man selber dauert." Weil in letter to Susman, as quoted by Meyer, *Neinsagen* 164. This part of the letter is not reprinted in Weil's 1998 autobiography. My translation.
 21. Weil never tried to have this manuscript published, even as she became successful in the 1980s, as she felt that it was too dated. The text was published posthumously in 1999, after

- her death in May of that year. See Grete Weil, *Erlebnis einer Reise: Drei Begegnungen* (Zürich: Nagel & Kimche, 1999).
22. "... die acht Jahre des Untergangs, in denen uns fast alles, was zu uns gehört, abhanden kommt. Land, Sprache, Sicherheit und schließlich die eigene Identität." Weil, *Antigone* 111. My translation.
 23. Weil, *My Sister* 147.
 24. For English sources on the history of the Netherlands under Nazi occupation, see J.C.H. Blom, "The Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands in a Comparative International Perspective," *Dutch Jewish History*. Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium on the History of the Jews in the Netherlands, Vol. II, ed. Jozeph Michman (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1989) 273–289, Gerhard Hirschfeld, *Nazi Rule and Dutch Collaboration: The Netherlands Under German Occupation 1940–1945*, trans. Louise Willmot (Oxford: Berg, 1988), Louis de Jong, *The Netherlands and Nazi Germany. The Erasmus Lectures 1988* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), Judith Miller, *One, by One, by One: Facing the Holocaust* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), chapter on the Netherlands, Bob Moore, *Victims and Survivors: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands 1940–1945* (London: Arnold, 1997), and of course, one of the earliest and most influential works: Jacques Presser, *The Destruction of the Dutch Jews*, trans. Arnold Pomerans (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1969).
 25. See Moore, *Victims and Survivors* 2. His numbers are based on Gerard Hirschfeld "Niederlande" in Wolfgang Benz, ed. *Dimension des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1991) 165.
 26. Note on translation: while "Grenze" means literally "border," figuratively it also means "limit," a double meaning the title clearly hints at.
 27. Weil, *Der Weg zur Grenze* (Unpublished manuscript, 1944) 3. Citation taken from Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 109. My translation.
 28. *Weihnachtslegende 1943* was published without Weil's consent in 1945 as part of a postwar anthology of "resistance writing" in Amsterdam, *Das gefesselte Theater: Het tooneel in boeien* (Amsterdam: Hollandgruppe "Freies Deutschland," 1945). It was not available until recently, when Weil reprinted it in her last publication, at the end of her autobiography *Leb ich denn* from 1998, 195–227. *Der Weg* was never published, according to her biographer because Weil did not deem it good enough. Exner, *Land Meiner* 58.
 29. Grete Weil, *Ans Ende der Welt* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987). First published by Verlag Volk und Welt in East Berlin in 1949. The original German reads: " 'Na ja, Jüdin sind sie ja auch, Fräulein,' meinte er einlenkend. 'Für die Dauer des Krieges'. . . 'Und danach sind Sie es vielleicht nicht mehr?' 'Danach bin ich wieder Mensch.' 'Sie haben leicht reden, Fräulein, hier auf Ihrem guten Posten. Wenn der Jüdische Rat erst alle anderen Juden nach Polen geschickt hat, besteht für seine Mitglieder immerhin die Chance, jene glücklichen Zeiten, in denen man nur Mensch sein darf, zu erleben. Für uns gewöhnliche Sterbliche sind die Aussichten bedeutend ungünstiger'" (13). My translation.
 30. Weil, *My Sister* 84.
 31. Weil had to return illegally, because she no longer possessed a German passport, deprived as she was of her German citizenship: "Staatenlos bin ich, seit die Deutschen uns im September 1941 die Staatsbürgerschaft aberkannt haben." Weil, *Generationen* 88.
 32. Albert Ehrenstein, a Jewish exile author, took her work to several German publishers and sent it out to foreign publishers and friends. See Meyer, *Neinsagen* 26–27, 144.
 33. See Meyer, *Neinsagen* 146.
 34. See Meyer, *Neinsagen* 145. Not only were the East German reviewers impressed with the theme and the tone of the book, several reviewers foresaw a successful future for Weil as an author, a hope that was dashed in the next few decades as literary acclaim eluded her in West Germany.
 35. Weil: "Zwei Dichter, ein Schriftsteller sprachen für mich, doch sonst blieb alles stumm." "Two poets and one novelist spoke out for me, otherwise everything remained silent." My

translation. Weil refers here to a 1950 review by critic and poet Oda Schaeffer in the American publication *Neue Zeitung* in München, a review by the author Albert Ehrenstein (who had helped her to get the book published) in 1949 in the German language *Aufbau*, published in New York, and a review by the author Martin Gregor Dellin. See Meyer, *Neinsagen* 144.

36. Interview with Adriaan van Dis, "Grete Weil: Nee zeggen is de enige onverwoestbare vrijheid," *NRC Handelsblad* November 12, 1982, Cultureel Supplement: 3. My translation.
37. In her 1998 autobiography, Weil would write: "Heute, wo sie längst in Westdeutschland erschienen ist, weiß ich, dass es eigentlich ein Skandal war, dass niemand im Westen sie wollte. Doch noch ahne ich nichts von den Schwierigkeiten, denen ich viele Jahre lang begegnen werde, weil Literater über dieses Thema unerwünscht ist" *Leb ich denn* 239. "Today, now that it has long since been published in West Germany, I know that it was actually scandalous that nobody in the West wanted it. But I did not yet know anything about the difficulties that I would come to face for many years because literature about this topic is undesirable." My translation.
38. As Laureen Nussbaum and Uwe Meyer suggest, it was "durchaus kennzeichnend für die politisch-gesellschaftliche Lage im Nachkriegs-deutschland, daß Grete Weil in Westdeutschland vergeblich nach einem Verleger für diese Novelle suchte" (160). It was "quite characteristic for the political and social situation in postwar Germany that Grete Weil searched in vain for a publisher for her novel in West Germany." My translation.
39. See Werner Bergmann, Rainer Erb, and Albert Lichtblau, ed., *Schwieriges Erbe: Der Umgang mit Nationalsozialismus und Antisemitismus in Österreich, der DDR und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 1995), and Agnes Blänsdorf's essay in this volume. Agnes Blänsdorf, "Die Einordnung der NS-Zeit in das Bild der eigenen Geschichte: Österreich, die DDR und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland im Vergleich," ed. Bergmann, et al. 18–45.
40. Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).
41. It came to function as the "negativer Vergleichsmaßstab für die demokratische Ordnung." The "negative standard of comparison for the democratic order." My translation. Bergman et al., "Einleitung: Die Aufarbeitung der NS-Vergangenheit im Vergleich, Österreich, die DDR und die Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Schwieriges Erbe* 16.
42. Andrei S. Markovits, Beth Simone Noveck, and Carolyn Höfig, "Jews in German Society," *The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture*, ed. Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 97.
43. Ernestine Schlant, *The Language of Silence: West German Literature and the Holocaust* (New York: Routledge, 1999) 38.
44. "Dem eigentümlichen Konsens, daß die neue deutsche Demokratie nur auf den Weg käme, wenn ihre Bürger aus der Haftung für die monströsen Verbrechen der NS-Zeit befreit würden, wurde seinerzeit nur von den Kommunisten und manchen linken Sozialdemokraten widersprochen." Helmut Dubiel, *Niemand ist frei von der Geschichte: Die nationalsozialistische Herrschaft in den Debatten des Deutschen Bundestages* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1999) 68. "At that time only communists and a few left-wing social democrats protested against the strange consensus that the new German democracy could only get on the right track if its citizens were acquitted of the monstrous crimes of the Nazi period." My translation.
45. "... die Deutschen hätten bereits zur westlichen Allianz gehört als sie Hitlers Kampf gegen Rußland unterstützten." Dubiel, *Niemand* 75. My translation.
46. Juliane Wetzel, "Trauma und Tabu: Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland nach dem Holocaust," *Ende des Dritten Reiches-Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs: Eine perspektivistische Rückschau*, ed. Hans-Erich Volkmann (München: Piper, 1995) 440.
47. "Die Hitler-Barbarei hat das deutsche Volk durch die Ausrottung von sechs Millionen jüdischer Menschen entehrt." As quoted in Dubiel, *Niemand* 44. My translation.

48. This is what Wetzel calls the "Phänomen eines Antisemitismus wegen Auschwitz" (440).
49. Wolfgang Benz, "The Persecution and Extermination of the Jews in the German Consciousness," *Why Germany? National Socialist Anti-Semitism and the European Context*, ed. John Milfull (Providence: Berg, 1993) 94.
50. Benz, "The Persecution" 94. Many Germans questioned the necessity of war trials. Jewish witnesses were seen as "animated by a spirit of vengeance" and as suspect, since they came "for the most part from Israel or from socialist-bloc countries." Jean-Paul Bier, "The Holocaust and West-Germany: Strategies of Oblivion 1947–1979," *New German Critique* 19 (1980) 13.
51. Frank Stern, *The Whitewashing of the Yellow Badge: Antisemitism and Philosemitism in Germany*, trans. William Templer (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992) 349. See also Frank Stern, "German-Jewish Relations in the Postwar Period: The Ambiguities of Antisemitic and Philosemitic Discourse," *Jews, Germans, Memory: Reconstructions of Jewish Life in Germany*, ed. Y. Michal Bodemann (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996) 77–98.
52. Most Germans did not feel that they owed the Jews even that much, however. Opinion polls of the period show that reparation payments were not a popular measure: only 11% supported financial restitution. Stern, *Whitewashing* 382.
53. Micha Brumlik, "The Situation of Jews in Today's Germany," Bodemann, *Jews, Germans, Memory* 8. Bodemann argues that this tight cooperation between the state and the Jewish leadership "reproduced the immobility and authoritarianism of the Adenauer era within the Jewish community." Bodemann as paraphrased by Brumlik, "The Situation" 9.
54. Markovits, "Jews in German Society" 98.
55. The assumption was that this new Jewish community would soon die out. Marion Kaplan, "What is 'Religion' among Jews in Contemporary Germany?" *Reemerging Jewish Culture in Germany: Life and Literature Since 1989*, ed. Sander L. Gilman and Karen Remmler (New York: New York University Press, 1994) 77–78.
56. Dagmar Lorenz argues: "Kein deutschsprachiges Land erwog ernstlich eine deutsch-jüdische Koexistenz. Die westdeutschen und österreichischen Medien und Politiker wiesen auf Israel als legitimes Territorium der Juden. In der DDR hatte das Judentum im Sozialismus und die Diskussion des Holocaust in der des kommunistischen Widerstands, aufzugeben." Lorenz, *Verfolgung* 6. "No German speaking country seriously considered a German-Jewish coexistence. The West German and Austrian media and politicians referred to Israel as the legitimate territory of the Jews. In the GDR, Jewish culture was supposed to be absorbed by socialism and the discussion about the Holocaust was supposed to be absorbed by the discourse about the communist resistance." My translation.
57. Alfred Döblin returned to Germany as an officer of the French army soon after the end of the war. Other returnees: Rose Ausländer, Stefan Heym, Hans Habe, Friedrich Wolf, Anna Seghers, Stephan Hermlin, Arnold Zweig, Hans Mayer, Ernst Bloch. Some stayed only for a brief period before departing again and settling elsewhere: Wolfgang Hildesheimer, Jean Améry, Peter Weiss, Hermann Kesten, Carl Zuckmayer. Often, the returnees were politically left-leaning idealists who hoped to play a role in the rebuilding of a new democratic German state.
58. This literature presented viewpoints most Germans were not ready to face, and which challenged the now commonly held position that Germans themselves were victims.
59. Helmut Peitsch, "German Literature in 1945: Liberation for a New Beginning?" *The Culture of Reconstruction: European Thought and Film, 1945–1959*, ed. Nicholas Hewitt (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989). Thomas Mann is usually seen as representing the argument of the exiles in this debate, as he claimed (while writing from the United States) that all literature published in Germany between 1933 and 1945 was worthless. In open letters between Frank Thiess and Thomas Mann in *Münchener Zeitung* in August 1945, entitled "Die Innere Emigration." Peitsch, "German Literature" 176–178.
60. The fact that most exiles had had no choice but to flee (otherwise they would have been persecuted as Jews or socialists) was not mentioned in this discussion.

61. The prevalent literary trope or theme of postwar German literature was thus not *Kahlschlag* as was suggested up to the 1960s, but a return to “the same aesthetic categories as the German-right wing intelligentsia had used to view the dangers of Fascism,” namely the so-called “threat to traditional German values of the ‘spiritual condition of the age’ . . . [and] ‘the endangered German spirit.’” Keith Bullivant, “Continuity or Change? Aspects of West German Writing after 1945,” ed. Hewitt, *The Culture of Reconstruction* 193. These authors who represented *innere Emigration* argued that their literature had always remained autonomous and anti-Nazi. What lacked was any analysis of how their values (Christianity, or bourgeois humanism) had contributed to the Nazi turmoil. Peitsch, “German Literature” 177.
62. Much more poetry was published in the period 1945–1949 than prose, and this poetry was often escapist and did not deal with the recent past.
63. Bullivant, “Continuity or Change” 191. The image of a literary (and in extension, a moral) “clean slate” nevertheless found great resonance in the imagination of West German authors and their audience because it functioned to underplay the very real similarities and continuities between the Nazi era and the early postwar years, similarities that were abundantly clear to both (former) Nazi sympathizers and to those who had formerly been politically or racially persecuted.
64. For instance, authors such as Ilse Aichinger, Bruno Apitz, Paul Celan, Peter Weiss, Hilde Domin, Nelly Sachs, Ilse Blumenthal-Weiss, Lotte Paepcke, Jurek Becker, and Jakov Lind who published their first literary works only after the war.
65. Precisely because it was so ahistorical and apolitical this approach may have thrived.
66. Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 18–19.
67. As Marcel Reich-Ranicki, a preeminent Jewish critic of German literature, argues: “Es geht einfach darum, dass die Beschäftigung mit dem Werk der einst vertriebenen Schriftsteller die Auseinandersetzung mit der jüngsten deutschen Vergangenheit und—vor allem—mit der deutschen Gegenwart impliziert. Zu dieser Auseinandersetzung war man in der Bundesrepublik nicht bereit.” “The issue is simply that an engagement with the work of once expelled authors implies a confrontation with the recent German past, and especially with the German present. One was not willing to have this confrontation in the Federal Republic.” My translation. Marcel Reich-Ranicki, “Immer noch im Exil,” *Literarisches Leben in Deutschland: Kommentare und Pamphlete*, ed. Marcel Reich-Ranicki (München: R. Piper Verlag, 1965) 264.
68. Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 29–30.
69. Feuchtwanger, Weil, and Nelly Sachs published their first postwar works in the *SbZ* or in the DDR. Alfred Döblin published in the DDR as well, while living in France.
70. For an interesting analysis of the cultural policies in the immediate postwar years in the different occupied zones of Berlin, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *In a Cold Crater: Cultural and Intellectual Life in Berlin, 1945–1948*, trans. Kelly Barry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) 27–38.
71. Bullivant, “Continuity or Change” 200.
72. Weil in interview with van Dis. “Ik heb de wederopbouw-generatie verschrikkelijk gevonden” 3. My translation.
73. “[Er] besaß . . . einen großen Freundeskreis, der bald auch der meine wurde. Ich war integriert, fühlte mich nicht ‘fremd im eigenen Land’ und hatte es so ungleich leichter als die meisten anderen Remigranten” Weil in Exner, *Land Meiner* 73. “He had a large circle of friends that soon became mine, too. I was integrated and did not feel like a ‘stranger in my own country,’ and in this way it was considerably easier for me than for most other re-emigrants.” My translation.
74. *Boulevard Solitude: Lyrisches Drama in sieben Bildern* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1951; Mainz, 1951) Text by Grete Weil, scenario Walter Jockisch, music Hans Werner Henze. *Die Witwe von Esephus* Text by Grete Weil, music Wolfgang Fortner (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, n.y.), performed in 1952.

75. Exner, *Land Meiner* 76.
76. *Das Tagebuch der Anne Frank* had been published as a Fischer Taschenbuch in 1955. The play, a translation of the American adaptation by Francis Goodrich and Albert Hackett, was performed for the first time in Germany in 1956 and had an unprecedented opening on seven stages at the same time, in both West and East Germany. The play and its film version (shown in Germany in 1959) were a great success, and in turn, the diary became widely read. See Hanno Loewy, "Das gerettete Kind: Die 'Universalisierung' der Anne Frank," *Deutsche Nachkriegsliteratur*, ed. Braese et al., 19–41. On the inside cover of the Weil reprint, there is twice an explicit reference made to Anne Frank: "Als literarisches Dokument gehört diese Erzählung. . . an die Seite von Anne Franks Tagebuch" and "Grete Weil [tauchte unter] in unmittelbarer Nähe von Anne Franks Versteck," suggesting the publisher's explicit attempt to gain interest for Weil's work by connecting to the success of Anne Frank's diary. As Leslie Adelson points out: "This type of marketing highlights the trope of victimized innocence, as if to say—as late as 1989—that Germans are willing to read only those Holocaust stories that mimic Anne Frank's diary!" Adelson, "1971 'Ein Sommer' " 751.
77. See Grete Weil, *Last Trolley from Beethovenstraat*, trans. John Barrett (Boston: David R. Godine, 1992) 12. Translation of *Tramhalte Beethovenstraat* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1983). First published by Limes Verlag in Wiesbaden in 1963. Andreas returns in Amsterdam to a familiar photo studio. Upon seeing baby photos displayed in its window, he remarks that the (Jewish) babies who had been in the photos in 1942 "would be more than twenty now." This dates Andreas's comment to around 1962.
78. Weil's fragmentary style in this work in which she moves back and forth between the past of the 1940s and the present of the 1960s underscores, as Leslie Adelson argues, "the tormented quest for solutions that neither she nor her protagonist ever finds." Adelson, "1971 'Ein Sommer' " 751.
79. See, e.g., Nussbaum and Meyer who see the use of a German protagonist exclusively in this light: "Mit der Darstellung des Werdegangs eines nichtjüdischen, unpolitischen Intellektuellen, der erst allmählich zu weitreichenden kritischen Einsichten gelangt, hoffte sie das deutsche Lesepublikum der frühen sechziger Jahre zu erreichen und ihm endlich die Augen zu öffnen für die Verbrechen, die im Namen des deutschen Volkes begangen wurden" (160–161). "By describing the life of a non-Jewish and apolitical intellectual, who only later came to far-reaching critical conclusions, she hoped to reach the German reading audience of the early sixties and to finally open their eyes to the crimes that were committed in the name of the German people." My translation.
80. For instance, Andreas is neither perceived as a hero nor as a Nazi, but rather as typical of what most Germans of that particular class and education were like in the 1930s and 1940s: not pro-Hitler, but relatively unconcerned about the Nazis' antisemitic vitriol, focused on advancing their own careers, and deliberately attempting not to notice too much.
81. See also Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 156–157.
82. ". . . was im "Weg zur Grenze" zum eigensten Monikas gehörte. . . ist in "Tramhalte Beethovenstraat" Bestandteil der Erfahrungen eines Deutschen. . . in der Andreas-Figur [sind] beide Figuren aus dem "Weg zur Grenze," die flüchtende Jüdin Monika Merton und der deutsche Schriftsteller Andreas von Cornides aufgegangen. . . die Situation des Dialoges ist aufgehoben." Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 155. ". . . what was in *Weg zur Grenze* part of Monika. . . has become a part of the experiences of a German in *Tramhalte Beethovenstraat*. . . in the character of Andreas the Jewish refugee Monika Merton and the German author Andreas von Cornides are combined . . . the dialogic situation is dissolved." My translation.
83. Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 157–158.
84. There were no reviews of the reprint of *Ans Ende* at all. See Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 158, footnote 70.

85. Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 158.
86. For an elaborate discussion of the reception of Weil's *Tramhalte*, see Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 158–167.
87. In contrast, in the Netherlands, *Tramhalte* did receive a positive response, as would all of Weil's later works. This prompted a German critic to remark in 1991 that Weil had in fact now become "the most read German (female) author" in the Netherlands. Alexander von Bormann as quoted in Nussbaum and Meyer, "Grete Weil" 168. My translation. In order to fully understand the contrast in the reception of Weil's work in the two countries, one would have to take into account the very different legacy of the war in Germany and the Netherlands, and the way in which these countries have chosen (were able to choose) to memorialize the past. Even though Weil suggests that many Dutch citizens' behavior toward the Jews during the war was less than admirable, as "victim of the Nazis," the Dutch had less difficulty than Germans in accepting the literature of a German Jew in the Netherlands who was hunted down by the Nazi invader.
88. This was important as very little about Nazism had been taught in German schools up to this point: "Nazism was regarded as an accident, a combination of the weaknesses of modern democracy and their exploitation by the unique, demonic genius of Hitler. . . . The enormities of Nazism's crimes were admitted, and denounced, but they were attributed mainly to Hitler himself." Richard J. Evans, *In Hitler's Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Escape from the Nazi Past* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989) 11–12.
89. For a thorough analysis of the impact of these trials in Germany, see the interesting recent collection of documents and essays compiled in, *Auschwitz-Prozeß 4 Ks 2/63 Frankfurt am Main*, ed. Fritz Bauer Institut (Köln: Snoeck, 2004).
90. Micha Brumlik has argued that: "Mit dem Auschwitz-Prozeß began die eigentliche Phase öffentlicher 'Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit.' Das massenhafte Mord als ein Verbrechen und nicht nur als Nebenfolge des grausamen Krieges an der Ostfront zu betrachten sei, war ein Gedanke, der vielen Deutschen damals noch fremd war." "With the Auschwitz-trial began the actual public phase of the 'working through of the past.' The fact that mass-scale murder could be seen as a crime, and not merely as side-effect of the horrible war at the Eastern front, was a notion that at that time was still new for many Germans." Brumlik suggests that the German justice system was in fact ahead of the curve in prosecuting war criminals, as the general population would not come to see the necessity to acknowledge and deal with the Nazi legacy until another fifteen years later. My translation. Micha Brumlik, "Zum Geleit: Ein Appell an die Politik," *Auschwitz-Prozeß 4 Ks 2/63 Frankfurt am Main*, ed. Fritz Bauer Institut (Köln: Snoeck, 2004) 48.
91. Schlant, *The Language of Silence* 53.
92. Günter Grass's *Die Blechtrommel* (1959), Heinrich Böll, *Billiard um halb zehn* (1959), *Ansichten eines Clowns* (1963), Martin Walser, *Halbzeit* (1960), Uwe Johnson, *Mutmaßungen über Jakob* (1959).
93. See Jack Zipes, "Documentary Drama in Germany: Mending the Circuit," *The Germanic Review* (January 1967) 50. Zipes discusses three new works of that period, Rolf Hochhuth's *Der Stellvertreter* that deals with the ambivalent behavior of Pope Pius XII during World War II; Peter Weiss's *Die Ermittlung* that was based on the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial (1963–1965); and Heinar Kipphardt's *In der Sache J. Robert Oppenheimer* that deals with the FBI's inquiry against Oppenheimer.
94. Schlant, *The Language of Silence* 53–54.
95. ". . . der Aktualisierung der Holocaust-Thematik durch den Eichmann-Prozeß." Lorenz, *Verfolgung* 167. My translation.
96. Citations stem from Weil, *Happy, sagte der Onkel* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982). First published by Limes Verlag in Wiesbaden in 1968. Translations to English are mine.
97. "Man denkt, hier ist gut sein, vielleicht brächte man es, umgeben von den Keep-smiling Leuten so weit, ein Weltbild zu haben, die Russen sind böse, die Amerikaner gut, die Neger

nur bedingt entwicklungsfähig, Besitzlosen ist mit Spenden zu helfen, und Menschen sind menschlich." My translation.

98. See for an excellent article on this intellectual climate that also discusses the contrast that the publication of Weil's *Happy* represents: Stephan Braese, "Grete Weil's America: A Self-Encounter at the Moment of the Anti-Authoritarian Revolt," *Germanic Review* 75.2 (Spring 2000) 132–149.
99. "Wenn ich ein Neger in den Staaten wäre, würde ich lieber in der Wüste wohnen als in den Städten. Selbst auf die Gefahr hin, daß hier die Chance zur Flucht sehr gering war . . . Das wußte ich, von Flucht verstand ich etwas, das hatte ich gelernt, fünf Jahre Flucht und Verstecken, lange genug, um ein Experte zu werden" (19). My translation.
100. "Jeder ist freundlich zu jedem" . . . "Nachbar hilft Nachbarn, Reich hilft Arm . . ." 31–32. My translation.
101. "Vieles ist besser geworden, doch kann man die Negerfrage von heute auf morgen nicht lösen. Die Neger sind faul und dumm. . . . Es wäre am besten, man würde die Neger nach Afrika zurückschicken . . . Amerika den Amerikanern" (32). My translation.
102. "Aber Unglücke gleichen sich nur von außen . . . Ihr Schmerz und meiner, zwei Kontinente, zwei Zeiten . . ." (49). My translation.
103. "Eine Jüdin, eine Mörderin unsres Herrn. Hinaus aus meiner Wohnung" (57). My translation.
104. The title cannot be properly translated, however, as in German it has a double meaning: "B sagen" also sounds like the verb "besagen" that translates as: "to mean," "to signify." See for the translator's note (footnote 26) in Braese, "Grete Weil's America" 148.
105. "Warum hat man ihnen das angetan? Immer das gleiche, von Urbeginn an, nur die Manier verändert sich. Man lernt nicht aus" (75). My translation.
106. "Männerschädel, Frauenschädel, nicht mehr zu unterscheiden, im Tod sind sie gleich, Indianer, Neger, Zigeuner, Juden, immer dasselbe, zu allen Zeiten, zeitenlos, Ende im Massengrab . . ." (79). My translation.
107. ". . . wenn ich Sie so sehe . . . möchte ich wetten, daß Sie sich nicht nur abgefunden haben, sondern im großen und ganzen recht einverstanden sind mit dieser Welt, die sich zwar für Sie gebessert hat, aber für den größten Teil der Menschen immer gleich schlecht ist. Sie protestieren gegen das, was Sie nicht mögen, gegen Atombomben, Vietnamkrieg und Apartheid. . . . Doch von der jungen Frau, die aus Verzweiflung die Welt in Brand stecken wollte, ist nichts mehr da" (103). My translation.
108. "Unsere Vergangenheit ist keine, mit der sich leben läßt, und da wir leben, kann sie nicht existent gewesen sein" (106). My translation.
109. "B sagen, B sagen . . . Meinungen haben, Meinungen äußern. . . . Stets angewandt, weiterentwickelt, doch nie zu Meisterschaft gebracht. . . . Die Stunde der Wahrheit, und die Wahrheit ferner denn je. Wer könnte Ihnen die Wahrheit sagen? Was ist Ihre Wahrheit?" (106–107). My translation.
110. Historians have convincingly shown in the past few years that economic recovery after 1945 was so widespread and common in the Western world that it was neither uniquely German nor a "miracle." See for instance Hanna Schissler, "Introduction: Writing About 1950s West Germany," *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968*, ed. Schissler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) 3.
111. Richard Mc Cormick describes the development of the West German student movement as moving roughly through three phases: the politics of the first phase (1966 to 1968) were "based largely on the ideal of personal refusal: each committed individual would refuse to cooperate with a system seen as authoritarian and immoral" (32). The second phase (1968 into the early 1970s) is often called the "organized phase" (or "dogmatic" phase): "This was the period of splintering Marxist-Leninist groups . . . each of which asserted it held the true line on Marxist-Leninism. 'Subjectivity' was suspect, replaced by an inflexible party line based on supposedly 'objective' analysis of material conditions" (33). The third phase

- (early 1970s on) was dominated by spontaneous actions by the antidogmatic “*Spontis*.” These phases also overlap, and it was the great diversity in the student movement’s means and goals that are evident from the different phases which weakened any impact the movement might have had, Mc Cormick suggests. Richard W. Mc Cormick, *Politics of the Self: Feminism and the Postmodern in West German Literature and Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
112. Although this decree was aimed at leftist students, it affected their professors, as well as the student’s future careers as teachers.
 113. Dubiel, *Niemand* 123.
 114. Robert Holub, “1965 The premiere of Peter Weiss’s ‘The Investigation: Oratorio in Eleven Songs,’ a drama written from the documentation of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial, is staged,” *Yale Companion*, ed. Gilman and Zipes, *Yale Companion* 729.
 115. This same pattern can be detected in the new progressive literature and theater of the 1960s, as here, too, the leftist political rhetoric of the time led the discussion of the Nazi past only to be used as a springboard for an analysis of the perceived problems of the present, averting a true confrontation with the past.
 116. Schlant, *The Language of Silence* 54.
 117. Schlant, *The Language of Silence* 54–55.
 118. Andreas Huyssen, “The Politics of Identification: ‘Holocaust’ and the West German Drama,” *After the Great Divide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) 95.
 119. Lorenz, *Verfolgung* 30.
 120. Jeffrey Herf, “The ‘Holocaust’ Reception in West Germany: Right, Center and Left” *New German Critique* 19 (1980) 31. Herf argues that three factors specifically hindered a more serious discussion of antisemitism within the New Left: first, the Jewish dialogue with the New Left was limited due to the small size of the community, second, “Marxist analysis of fascism did not place the Final Solution or anti-Semitism at the center of attention,” and finally, the New Left was critical of philosemitism, as it was promulgated by the same Springer press that vilified the New Left (43–44).
 121. Eric Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990) 37.
 122. Braese, “Grete Weil’s America” 14. The word in brackets is mine.
 123. Nussbaum and Meyer: “Als das Buch 1968 erschien, konnte man mit der darin praktizierten Schonungslosigkeit offenbar wenig anfangen, hatte man doch in der Bundesrepublik gerade erst begonnen, sich mit der nationalsozialistischen Vergangenheit auseinanderzusetzen” (161). My translation.

Chapter Three Mythical Interventions

1. Dubiel: “. . . das System der liberalen Demokratie Westdeutschlands [war] nur eine Fassade, hinter der sich die Koninuität eines nach wie vor faschistischen Systems verbarg” (147). My translation.
2. The term “Hitler’s children,” “*Hitler’s Enkel*” is now commonly used to denote the conflict between the political right and left over the legacy of the generation of ’68. See, for instance, the title of a recent essay collection that deals with the subject: Hans-Jürgen Wirth, ed., *Hitlers Enkel—Oder Kinder der Demokratie? Die 68-er Generation, die RAF and die Fischer-Debatte* (Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag, 2001).
3. Dubiel, *Niemand* 149.
4. Dubiel: “Es war ein Symbolischer Bürgerkrieg, in dem unerbitlich über die politischen Konsequenzen gestritten wurde, die sich aus der Erbschaft des Nationalsozialismus für die Gegenwart der Bundesrepublik ergaben,” *Niemand* 148. My translation.
5. Some parts of this chapter have appeared in shorter form in Bos, “Return to Germany” 209–219.

6. George Steiner speaks of 1978 and 1979 as the years of "Antigone-fever" in Germany. "At least three major new productions modulating on Sophocles, Hölderlin, and Brecht, are mounted in Germany." The cultural reverberations of this figure were particularly strong at this moment: "Over and over again, western moral and political consciousness has lived . . . Antigone anno jetzt, 'Antigone year-now.'" George Steiner, *Antigones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) 108. This "fever" was related to the tendency to see present-day terrorism in light of this myth, something Weil does as well. Both Meyer and Braese interpret Weil's success in light of this Antigone "Welle." Meyer, *Neinsagen* 35–36, Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 545.
7. The text is "semiautobiographical" because even though it has strong autobiographical components, it also contains fictional elements. Furthermore, *Antigone* is explicitly billed as *Roman* (novel).
8. Susanne Baackmann suggests that: "in various ways, antiquity has always been an important reference point for German culture. Hölderlin's 1804 translation of Sophocles's drama . . . firmly anchored the Antigone story in the German imagination, eventually elevating it to a 'master narrative' of humanism." Susanne Baackmann, "The Battle with Memory: Grete Weil's My Sister Antigone," *Conquering Women: Women and War in the German Cultural Imagination*, ed. Hillary Collier Sy-Quia and Susanne Baackmann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) 109.
9. This interpretation of the Antigone figure as a resistance fighter was not unique, but explicitly refers back to several other authors (Brecht, Langgässer) who in the immediate aftermath of the war (and Hochhuth in 1963), had portrayed Antigone as a figure of German resistance against the Nazis in their respective Sophocles' adaptations. Uwe Meyer, "O Antigone . . . stehe mir bei' Zur Antigone-Rezeption im Werk von Grete Weil," *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 104 (1996) 150–151.
10. Weil, *Antigone* 17. My translation, as I do not like Krishna Winston's translation here. German original: "Ich möchte ein Buch schreiben über ein Mädchen, das sich von mir nicht schreiben lassen will, meinen Eigensinn an ihrem Eigensinn messen, sehen wer zum Schluß die Oberhand behält" (17).
11. Ensslin was one of the most notorious members of the *Rote Armee Fraktion*, involved in terrorist actions from the late 1960s into the 1970s.
12. See both Heinrich Weinstock's Sophocles translation (Sophocles, *Die Tragödien*, trans. Heinrich Weinstock (Stuttgart: Kröner Verlag, 1962), as well as those of Friedrich Hölderlin (Hölderlin, *Die Trauerspiele des Sophocles* (1804; Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1986)), and the interpretation of Gustav Schwab (Schwab, *Griechse mythen en sagen*, trans. J.K. van den Brink (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1956)). All these versions are mentioned explicitly in Weil's *Antigone* as sources on which the narrator bases her Antigone character.
13. In a later novel Weil makes this link explicit herself. Weil, *Generationen* 129.
14. Weil revealed in an interview that this particular scene refers to her being present in June 1943 at the Jewish Council when Hauptscharführer Aus der Fünten had 6,000 Jews deported from Holland. Van Dis, "Grete Weil" 3.
15. Adelson suggests that: "the complicated structure of the novel reveals that this Holocaust survivor cannot be Antigone, whose presence in the narrative nonetheless legitimizes the story that the survivor has to tell." Adelson, "1971 'Ein sommer'" 751.
16. Weil, and as her first and second husband all held doctorates in German or were working on them.
17. For a thorough discussion of the reception of *Antigone* in Germany, see Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 549–557.
18. See Bos, "Return to Germany" 209–219.
19. Anton Kaes, "1979 The American television series 'Holocaust' is shown in West Germany," *Yale Companion* ed. Gilman and Zipes 787.

20. Saul Friedländer, *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993) 7.
21. The only reviewer who does read the work as a commentary on present-day Germany, Robert Schirndig, still neglects to point to how politically controversial this kind of text is, in which Antigone and Gudrun Ensslin are compared (in a positive vein), and in which terrorists are described as lost souls, not as the major criminals the German state considers them to be. See Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 553.
22. "Das kam alles viel zu spät" Weil in Exner, *Land meiner* 97.
23. "Für mich ist das ein Symptom dafür, wie wenig man wirklich bereit ist, sich ehrlich mit der eigenen Geschichte auseinanderzusetzen" Weil as quoted in Braese, *Die andere Erinnerung* 560. My translation.
24. For a more elaborate discussion of *Generationen* and its reception, see Pascale R. Bos, "Homoeroticism and the Liberated Woman as Tropes of Subversion: Grete Weil's Literary Provocations," *German Quarterly* 78.1 (Winter 2005) 70–87.
25. In the German original: "Wie durch Schweigen Leben erstickt wird," "Sehnsucht nach Bindung," "Oft wollte ich weglaufen, nie habe ich es getan," "Orientierungslos," "Eskalation."
26. Weil, *Generationen* 22. Original reads: ". . . einer neuer Mensch werden in einer neuen Umgebung." My translation.
27. Weil, *Generationen* 34. Original reads: ". . . auch der Marxismus[ist] bei ihr nichts ist als ein vager Traum. Eine Sehnsucht, irgendwo dazuzugehören." My translation.
28. "Ich verstehe sie nicht, kann den Abgrund zwischen den Generationen nicht überspringen." Weil, *Generationen* 117. My translation.
29. Weil, *Generationen* 116. Original reads: "Ich bin abgestoßen, weil es mir vor Menschen graut, die unter einem Kommando stehen. Die hier geraten auf Befehl in Ekstase, erinnern mich an Reichsparteitage. . . . Wollt ihr die totale Hingabe? Mit verklärten Augen, lachend: Ja. Orangeses Gewoge, geborgtes Glück der Lebenswachen." My translation. Note here the mirroring of Goebbels's infamous rhetorical question in the Berliner Sportpalast: "Wollt ihr den totalen Krieg?"
30. Weil, *Generationen* 140. Original reads: "Du bist für sie ein Fall geworden."
31. Weil, *Generationen* 118. "1968 a short phase of revival . . . but just as quickly as it came, the firework goes up in smoke, and nothing is left." My translation of: "1968 eine kurze Phase des Auflebens. . . . Aber ebenso schnell, wie es entstanden ist, verpufft das Feuerwerk, und nichts bleibt übrig."
32. Weil suggests in an interview that even though the novel is "very strongly autobiographical" (Giese, *Das Ich im* 211), the figure of Hanna had been based on a man ". . . But Moni is real, she is still in Poona. . . . Our triangulated relationship on which I wrote. . . . was really as problematic as I depicted it there" (Giese, *Das Ich im* 217). My translation. The relationship described in *Generationen* as a double lesbian one turned out to have been a conscious literary choice for Weil: "I changed it [in the story], because that way it fit better" (Giese, *Das Ich im* 217). My translation. This choice elucidates how much of a deliberate women-centered project this book is, as the narrator muses over precisely the fact that their love triangle is so different without men, and that she is elated to find a new world in which women put each other first, connect, organize, reads women's literature, and so forth. Weil, *Generationen* 45. See also Bos, "Homoeroticism and the Liberated Woman" 78.
33. Weil, *Generationen* 12. Original reads: "Ich habe Angst, belogen zu werden. Und Angst, die Wahrheit zu hören. Oder Antworten zu bekommen, wie: Hitler ist schuld: am Krieg, an der Ausrottung der Juden, der Teilung unseres Landes. Hitler allein." My translation.
34. For a more in-depth discussion of why the text was received with less enthusiasm than *Antigone*, see Bos, "Homoeroticism and the Liberated Woman" 70–87.
35. A "stabiles historisches Selbstbewußtsein." Dubiel, *Niemand* 200. My translation.
36. Bitburg in particular, as not only *Wehrmacht* soldiers turned out to be buried at this cemetery, but SS soldiers as well, creating a massive international outcry, backpedaling by the Reagan

- administration, changes of plans, and ultimately a highly controversial visit. In a speech, Reagan justified his visit to the Bitburg cemetery with an interesting example of ahistorical conflation: "those young men are victims of Nazism also. . . . They were victims, just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps." Evans, *In Hitler's Shadow* 16. For elaborate documentation on this controversy, see: Ilya Levkov, ed., *Bitburg and Beyond: Encounters in American, German and Jewish History* (New York: Shapolsky Publishers, 1987) and Geoffrey Hartman, ed., *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).
37. Jürgen Habermas, "Eine Art Schadensabwicklung: die apologetischen Tendenzen in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung," *Die Zeit* (July 11, 1986). He responded to a lecture by Ernst Nolte published in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of June 6, 1986. Nolte, a conservative historian, argued that the crimes and the horror of the National Socialist past needed to be put into context. Nolte's article contained two controversial arguments that would be repeated in the ensuing discussion: one, that Hitler's deed was not unique, and in fact a "copy" of atrocities committed by Stalin, and that Hitler may have been justified in doing what he did for defensive reasons. The second work Habermas reacted to is Andreas Hillgruber's *Zweierlei Untergang: Die Zerschlagung des Deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums* (1986). This book combines two essays, one on the expulsion of the Germans from Eastern Europe at the end of the war, and a second on the Nazi extermination of the Jews in Europe. Hillgruber discusses both events (genocide and the destruction of the Third Reich), in the larger context of mass resettlement of European populations. This analysis implied that Germany's downfall was not caused by Hitler alone, but also by the Allies. In the course of his argument, Hillgruber defends the German Army holding out as long as it did on the Eastern front (which indirectly caused tens of thousands of additional deaths, as the concentration camps could not be liberated).
 38. Charles S. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988) 2.
 39. Maier, *The Unmasterable Past* 1.
 40. Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will, "In Search of German Culture: an Introduction," *Cambridge Companion*, ed. Kolinsky and van der Will (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) 11.
 41. Mc Cormick, *Politics of the Self* 25.
 42. Mc Cormick indeed argues that the "political protest movement" in West Germany dissolved in large part "because of the failure to resolve the personal/political split adequately" (23).
 43. Verena Stefan's *Häutungen* has been particularly influential, as has been the work of Christa Wolf, Anna Waltraud Mitgutsch, Luise Pusch, Brigitte Schwaiger, and Julia(n) Schutting.
 44. Brumlik, "The Situation" 11.
 45. Gilman and Zipes, "Introduction," *Yale Companion* xxvi.
 46. Jack Zipes, "The Contemporary Fascination for Things Jewish: Toward a Minor Jewish Culture," *Reemerging Culture in Germany*, ed. Gilman and Remmler 17.
 47. Gilman and Zipes, "Introduction," *Yale Companion* xxvi.
 48. Zipes, "The Contemporary Fascination" 19.
 49. Important instigator of this literature was a collection of interviews with German Jews published by Henryk M. Broder and Michel Lang, ed., *Fremd im eigenen Land: Juden in der Bundesrepublik* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979). This was the first text collection of German-Jewish autobiographical writings. More would follow in the 1980s, see e.g., Peter Sichrovsky, ed., *Wir wissen nicht was morgen wird, wir wissen wohl was gestern war: Junge Juden in Deutschland und Österreich* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1985).
 50. Authors whose work first appeared during this period are Barbara Honigmann, Esther Dischereit, Rafael Seligmann, Maxim Biller. Important as well is the social-historical and critical work of Michael Wolffsohn, Dan Diner, Ralph Giordano, and Micha Brumlik.
 51. Particularly important in this regard have been Lea Fleischmann's *Dies ist nicht mein Land: Eine Jüdin verläßt die Bundesrepublik* (Hamburg: Hofman und Kampe, 1980), published

- after the author had left for Israel, for, as she suggested, Germany was “unlive-able” for Jews, and Broder’s *Fremd*.
52. Anke Manschot, “Ook ik heb last gehad van een Assepoestercomplex: gesprek met de Duits-joodse schrijfster Grete Weil,” *Vrij Nederland Boekenbijlage* (April 13, 1985) 8. “I know of no books written by men which reach the level of Bachmann or Christa Wolf.” My translation. She consciously opted to adopt the openness and directness about issues both personal and political found in these works in her own writing, a development not commonly seen in literature written by women of her generation.
 53. “Das David-Thema [in *Der Brautpreis*] ermöglichte Weil die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Judentum als autonomer Kultur und Grundpfeiler des Abendlandes. Sie weist in dieser Kultur dieselbe Brutalität nach wie zuvor im Griechenland Antigones, dieselbe Unterdrückung der Schwächeren, besonders Frauen.” Lorenz, *Verfolgung* 262. “The David-theme enabled Weil to critically discuss Judaism as an autonomous culture and as a pillar of the occident. She points in this culture to the same brutality as earlier in Antigone’s Greece, the same oppression of the weak, in particular women.” My translation.
 54. *Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1985).
 55. Judith Romney Wegner, *Chattel or Person? The Status of Women in the Mishnah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 13. “A daughter is . . . perceived as the property of the father; he collects bride-price from the man who marries her or from one who seduces or rapes her whether or not the violator marries the girl. The bride-price compensated for the loss of the daughter’s virginity, treated as the father’s economic asset” (13). Wegner also explains that “a girl or woman who may have become espoused to a given man cannot marry another until the first man divorces her . . . a girl or a woman who mistakenly consummates marriage with one man when she is promised to another counts as an adulteress, and her children will be illegitimate . . . worse still, she cultically pollutes the man who has intercourse with her” (29).
 56. David marries his second and third wives Abigail and Achinoam, and later marries Maacah, Haggith, Abital, and Eglah (Samuel II, 1.25, 26). Jewish men, up to this point in time at least, were allowed by Jewish law to have more than one wife at any given moment, as is evident from David’s multiple marriages. This suggests, as Wegner argues, that: “The polygynous system of the Mishnah involves a pervasive double standard. Though a man has the *exclusive* right to his wife’s sexuality, the wife’s right to the husband’s sexual function is never *exclusive*. She cannot legally preclude her husband from taking additional wives or having sexual relations with unmarried women. By contrast, she can neither have more than one husband nor indulge in sexual relations with other men” (220–221).
 57. In fact, the only way in which Michal stands out in the Jewish tradition is that “she is the only woman in the Hebrew Bible whose love for a man is recorded.” That is, nowhere else is the love of a woman for a man described from the woman’s perspective, except for in *The Song of Songs*, but here the character does not have a name. Joseph Telushkin, *Biblical Literacy: The Most Important People, Events, and Ideas of the Hebrew Bible* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1997) 212.
 58. Jewish feminist scholars since the 1970s have analyzed the role of Jewish women in ancient and in modern religious practice, the status of Jewish women in ancient Israel, as well as in the *Tanach* and in Rabbinic commentary. See among others, Elizabeth Koltun, ed., *The Jewish Woman: New Perspectives* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), Susannah Heschel, ed., *On Being a Jewish Feminist* (New York: Schocken Press, 1983), Rachel Biale, *Women and Jewish Law: An Exploration of Women’s Issues in Halakbic Sources* (New York: Schocken, 1984), Carol Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), Judith Plaskow, *Standing Again at Sinai: Judaism from a Feminist Perspective* (San Francisco: Harper, 1990) and Wegner, *Chattel or Person*.
 59. This makes it tempting to trace not only the identity transformation of the three different narrators’ on the basis of passages from all three novels, but that of Weil as well. This is not my goal, however.

60. The German original conveys more strongly the emotional connotation see note 24, page 98.
61. Where I quote from the published English translation of *Brautpreis* in the following passages, I mark this by using title of the English translation, *Brideprice* in parenthesis.
62. The English translation does not do full justice to this quote, I therefore added my own alternative translation for its ending between brackets.
63. Adelson, "1971 'Ein Sommer'" 751.
64. Smith, *Subjectivity* 63.
65. This makes the process extra difficult, but significant "Die Selbstdarstellung oder auch nur die Fähigkeit, 'ich' zu sagen, scheint für die überlebenden lebenswichtig gerade wegen der Hindernisse, die sie als ehemalige Naziverfolgte, die in der deutschen Sprache über ihre Erlebnisse schreiben wollten, zu überwinden hatten." Lorenz, *Verfolgung* 155. "The self portrait or even just the ability to say 'I,' seem to be of vital importance for the survivors, precisely because of the obstacles that they had to overcome as former victims of Nazi persecution who wanted to write in the German language about their experiences." My translation.
66. Kaplan, *The Making of* 77–84. Hyman, *Gender and Assimilation* 18–22.
67. Dagmar Lorenz notes this as she suggests that in writing on her double marginalization as a German and as a Jew, Weil managed to create for herself "a new intellectual and emotional position." Lorenz, *Verfolgung* 262. My translation.
68. Uwe Meyer suggests that within the context of the Holocaust, the term "Spätfolgen" in German has taken on clear connotations of belated, or latent psychological consequences, or of "after-effects," which refers more specifically to the "survivor's syndrome." Meyer, *Neinsagen* 84–85. (In the United States the term PTSD, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, tends to be more commonly used.) The stories within this collection all deal specifically with survivors and how they confront everyday life and culture as continual after-effects of their Nazi persecution. "Alles um mich herum ist Spätfolge, weil die Hitler-Zeit so tiefe Spuren hinterlassen hat, daß keiner, der damals lebte und wahrscheinlich auch nur eine Handvoll der später Geborenen sich ihr entziehen kann." Weil, "Und Ich? Zeugin des Schmerzes," *Spätfolgen* 101. "Everything around me is after-effects, because the Hitler era has left such deep traces that no one who was alive then, and probably just a handful of those born after, can pull themselves away from it." My translation.

Chapter Four Creating Address

1. For a set of excellent essays on German identity since reunification see Konrad H. Jarausch, ed., *After Unity: Reconfiguring German Identities* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1997). On German identity more broadly see Siobhan Kattago, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001).
2. Meyer, *Neinsagen* 100. My translation.
3. For instance, the new constitution no longer contains a clause that holds Germany responsible for Auschwitz. The new unified Germany in which "the Germans are once again masters" seems less interested in appeasing its Jewish population. Bodemann, "How can one" 37–38.
4. It was believed that the German language had been polluted with Nazi jargon and Nazi euphemisms to such a degree that one could not use it without unwillingly recalling the Nazi-rhetoric of the twelve preceding years. Even many exile writers who, due to their early emigration, had not suffered incarceration in concentration camps, and who often retained their connection to the German language while away from Germany or Austria, came to consider the use of the German language problematic after 1945.
5. Klüger submitted the work to the editors at Suhrkamp who were not interested, stating that they had already published "enough" Holocaust memoirs. She finally placed the work with a small and relatively obscure publisher, Wallstein Verlag.
6. In 1993, Klüger was awarded the Johann-Jacob-Christoph von Grimmelshausen Preis, the Rausirer Literatur Preis, and the Niedersachsen Preis, in 1994 she was awarded the Heinrich Heine Preis, and in 1999 the Thomas Mann Preis.

7. Marcel Reich-Ranicki mentioned in his literary magazine *Das literarische Quartett* on ZDF television, on January 14, 1993, that *weiter leben* counted “zum Besten, was in diesen letzten zwei, drei, vier Jahren in deutscher Sprache erschienen ist.” As quoted in Braese and Gehle, “Von ‘deutschen Freuden’” 76. It belongs “to the best [books] that have been published in the last two, three, four years in the German language.” My translation.
8. In his early study *A Double Dying*, Alvin Rosenfeld writes, a bit cynically, that this kind of a “pattern” in Holocaust literature is so predictable that the “‘Holocaust Novel’ may now be seen as an available subgenre of contemporary fiction, to be written by anyone who is on to and can master the ‘formula’” (172). Little did he realize how right he would prove to be, if one considers Benjamin Wilkomirski’s pseudo-memoir *Fragments* from 1995 as an example of fiction that mastered the “formula” exceedingly well.
9. Examples of such literature are Gerda Klein’s and Judith Magyar Isaacson’s memoirs, for instance. While Elie Wiesel’s *Night*, arguably the genre’s most well-known text does not have a clear happy ending, in other respects it confirms to this model as well. Mintz indeed argues that *Night*, published in the U.S. in 1960 was in part responsible for foregrounding this model. Wiesel’s writing was “influential . . . because it early on established a norm for what a Holocaust memoir should be” (73). I personally suspect that Primo Levi’s *Survival in Auschwitz*, first published in Italian in 1947 and translated to English in 1959 may have been the first to set this pattern for much European survivor literature, perhaps influencing Wiesel as well.
10. Klüger considered calling her work *Zeitschaften*, as a variation on *Ortschaften*, in response to both Peter Weiss’ essay “Meine Ortschaft” and Jean Améry’s autobiographical narrative on his camp experiences, entitled “Örtlichkeiten,” and which is structured, just as her narrative, semi-chronologically and through the use of place names. Klüger’s title also corresponds to Améry’s last work before his suicide: *Weiterleben aber wie?* Her text seems in part an answer to Améry’s question: she did not commit suicide; this is her story of continuing to live.
11. That is, 116 versus 90 pages.
12. The audience is perhaps not so much imagined as already responded to, as Klüger added this commentary in after having colleagues in Göttingen read earlier drafts of the manuscript. She included their questions and tried to answer them within the text itself, anticipating other German readers’ questions. This kind of a narrative reads as a constant intervention on Klüger’s part, which, at times, makes the text seem either rather defensive or aggressive.
13. As Kaplan points out, this was an all too common pattern for Jewish women and girls: while men fled or went into exile, they stayed behind and were deported in far greater numbers than men. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
14. Klüger, *Still Alive* 52. The quotes in this chapter all stem from this English edition of *weiter leben*, translated by Klüger herself, unless noted differently.
15. In the English edition, she quotes a poem of W.B. Yeats here see note 24, page 98. Klüger’s paraphrasing of this poem in the German editions shows much more clearly the parallel with Weil’s notion of becoming objectified.
16. This passage is absent from Klüger’s English translation, this is my translation of: “Ich habe Theresienstadt irgendwie geliebt, und die neunzehn oder zwanzig Monate, die ich dort verbrachte, haben ein soziales Wesen aus mir gemacht” (102).
17. This passage is absent from Klüger’s English translation. “Wer nur erlebt, reim- und gedankenlos, ist in Gefahr, den Verstand zu verlieren . . . Ich hab den Verstand nicht verloren, ich hab Reime gemacht” (127). My translation.
18. When decades later her son tells the story of his mother’s escape to the children in his American school, they do not believe him, as they cannot imagine that three women liberated themselves: “Your dad, o.k. But not your mother” (215).
19. This passage is absent from Klüger’s English translation. My translation: “Der war beheimatet in Deutschland, verwurzelt in einer bestimmten deutschen Landschaft und wurde für mich der Inbegriff des Deutschen” (211–212).

20. By this I do not mean to suggest that Klüger plays self-consciously with the problematic referentiality of language, and so forth. In fact, she seems to have no patience for discussions of this kind within Holocaust studies, and does not waste a single word on it, even though she does otherwise engage with the field, both implicitly and explicitly.
21. My translation of the second half of the sentence in German is a bit different: "when now that the gas chambers are no longer threatening me I hint at the happy end of a postwar world that I share with you?" (139).
22. Braese and Gehle, "Von 'deutschen Freunden'" 76–83.
23. Walser, "Ruth Klüger zur Begrüßung," *Das Kulturjournal Bayerischer Rundfunk* (radio broadcast) presented by Peter Hamm, September 27, 1992. Reprinted in Braese and Gehle, "Von 'deutschen Freunden'" 84–85. My translation.
24. Irene Leonard Heidelberger, Ruth Klüger 88. My translation.
25. Braese and Gehle, "Das deutsche Dialog-Bemühen umgeht das Problem jüdischer Existenz nach Auschwitz . . . der von Klüger intendierte Dialog [ist] zum deutschen Selbstgespräch geworden" (80). They suggest that the analyses from Martin Walser and Andreas Isenschmidt and almost all other reviews read the book this way (80–83).
26. This passage is absent from Klüger's English translation, this is my translation.
27. This passage is absent from Klüger's English translation, this is my translation of: "Die ersten Bücher, die damals niemand lesen wollte, aber gerade die sind es, die unser Denken seither verändert haben, so daß ich heute nich von den Lagern erzählen kann, als wäre ich die erste, als hätte niemand davon erzählt, als wüßte nicht jeder, der das hier liest, schon so viel darüber, daß er meint, es sei mehr als genug, und als wäre dies alles nicht schon ausgebeutet worden, politisch, ästhetisch und auch als Kitsch" (79).
28. This passage is absent from Klüger's English translation. This is my paraphrasing of "Für wen schreib ich das hier eigentlich? Also bestimmt schreib ich es nicht für Juden, denn das täte ich gewiß nicht in einer Sprache, die . . . heute nur noch sehr wenige Juden gut beherrschen . . ." and my translation of: "Ich schreibe es für die, die finden, daß ich eine Fremdheit ausstrahle, die unüberwindlich ist? Anders gesagt, ich schreib es für Deutsche" (141).
29. The additions tend to be passages in which Klüger elaborates on German and Austrian historical or cultural notions that an American audience may not necessarily know about, and occasionally commentary is inserted on how the German edition was responded to after its publication, and it adds some information about Klüger's life in the decade that has passed since finishing up *weiter leben*. Conversely, some references are added to the translation that speak more to the American situation (e.g., the Vietnam war, and race discrimination in the U.S. context). The cuts take a similar pattern: many passages that cannot be easily understood by an American audience (such as particular German and Austrian cultural and literary references) are taken out. Furthermore, Klüger cut out many of her own poems (composed during and after her life in the camps), as she felt they were untranslatable, and instead added some that she wrote in English.
30. Klüger in *Still Alive*: "What you have been reading is neither a translation nor a new book: it's another version, a parallel book, if you will, for my children and my American students" (210).
31. This passage is absent from Klüger's English translation, this is my translation of: "Erinnerung verbindet uns, Erinnerung trennt uns" (218).
32. My translation of: "Jetzt hab ich euch mundtot gemacht, das war nicht die Absicht. Eine Wand ist immer zwischen den Generationen, hier aber Stacheldraht, alter, rostiger Stacheldraht" (72). This passage can be found in *Still Alive*, but here Klüger's translation reads quite differently: "because if I had, it would have effectively shut up the rest of the company. They would have been bothered, troubled, sympathetic, and thoroughly uncomfortable" (93).
33. Klüger thus sees no problem with the use of the word "Holocaust," however imprecise and problematic its connotations may be, as it is useful in conversation with Germans who were not there. Before this word was used in Germany, the events existed as "Ereignis, aber nicht diesen Ausdruck und daher auch nicht den Begriff . . . Solang es nur irgendein Wort

- gibt, das sich ohne Unschweife und Nebensätze gebrauchen läßt" (233). As there was no word for it, communication about it was still that much more difficult.
34. This declaration, however, also held the Austrians in part responsible for the events that took place after the Anschluß. The part of the Moscow declaration dealing with Austria's responsibility nevertheless quickly disappeared from Austria's *Staatsvertrag* of 1955, and just the clause on victimization remained.
 35. Ruth Beckermann, *Unzugehörig: Österreicher und Juden nach 1945* (Vienna: Loecker Verlag, 1989), and Bruce F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution: A History of Austrian Antisemitism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992) 96.
 36. In 1948, an Austrian "Verband der Rückstellungsbetroffenen" which lobbied to have confiscated Jewish property not be returned to the Jewish owners or heirs was founded. Helga Embacher, "Die innenpolitische Partizipation der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde in Österreich," *Schwieriges Erbe* ed. Bergman et al. 326.
 37. Beckermann, *Unzugehörig* 23.
 38. Pauley, *From Prejudice* 305. What the polls show is that 75% of Austrians privately express at least some antisemitic views, about 20 to 25% hold fairly antisemitic views, and about 7 to 10% are extremely antisemitic.
 39. "Jüdische Existenz in Österreich nach 1945 ist mit einer Fülle von Identitätsproblemen verbunden." Ruth Beckermann, "Illusionen und Kompromisse: zur Identität der Wiener Juden nach 1945," *Eine zerstörte Kultur: Jüdisches Leben und Antisemitismus im Wien seit dem 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Gerhard Botz, Ivar Oxaal, and Michael Pollak (Obermayer: Druck und Verlag, 1990) 358. My translation.
 40. Since 1986, a number of new and important historical studies dealing with Austria during the Nazi period have been published in Austria as well. See Emmerich Talos, Ernst Hanisch, and Wolfgang Neugebauer, ed., *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich 1938–1945* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1988) and Anton Pelinka and Erika Weinzierl, ed., *Das große Tabu* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1987). For a critical analysis of this past in Austrian (autobiographical) literature, see Jacqueline Vansant, "Challenging Austria's Victim Status: National Socialism and Austrian Personal Narrative," *The German Quarterly* 67.1 (1994) 38–57.
 41. This particular passage is absent from Klüger's English translation, this is my translation of: "Heute habe ich keine Freunde, keine Verwandten mehr in Österreich, höchstens daß sich hier und da ein Kollege oder ein entfernter Bekannter dort aufhält. Nur die Literatur dieses Landes . . . redet mich intimer an als andere Bücher . . ." (65).
 42. This passage is absent from Klüger's English translation, this is my translation of: "Mir ist die Stadt weder fremd noch vertraut, was wiederum umgekehrt bedeutet, daß sie mir beides ist . . ." (67).
 43. "Ich glaubte fest, obwohl die Männer es unbegreiflicherweise bestritten, daß Frauen lebensfähiger als Männer sind. Aber auch weniger wertvoll; daß unsere Toten männlich waren, bedeutete demzufolge, daß die wertvolleren in der Familie nicht mehr lebten" (237).
 44. She also argues that the image of women camp guards as more brutal than men is a myth. She argues instead that they were in fact considerably less violent than men (145–146).
 45. This passage is absent from Klüger's English translation, this is my translation of: "Die Kriege gehören den Männern, selbst als Kriegsoffer gehören sie ihnen" (190).
 46. Her adopted sister Ditha gets told after the war that "das KZ [könne] keine bleibende Beteutung für sie gehabt haben . . . weil sie älter als sechs gewesen sei." To this nonsense, Klüger responds: "Laut dieser Logik, sage ich ungerührt, haben die KZs niemanden psychologischen Schaden zugefügt, da Kinder unter sechs kaum eine Überlebenschance hatten" (239). "The concentration camp cannot have had any lasting meaning [effects] for her . . . because she was older than six. . . . According to this logic, I say unmoved, the camps have caused no one psychological harm, as children under six barely had a chance to survive." My translation.

47. This passage is absent from Klüger's English translation, this is my translation of: "Aber ging es überhaupt um die Wahrheit oder um gezielte Kränkung?" (239).
48. My translation of: "Nur loskommen von diesen Gesprächen, die mich vernichten. Er zerstört das, was 'ich' in mir sagt" (244).
49. "Das Wort Auschwitz hat heute eine Ausstrahlung, wenn auch eine negative, so daß es das Denken über eine Person weitgehend bestimmt, wenn man weiß, daß die dort gewesen ist. Auch von mir melden die Leute, die etwas Wichtiges über mich aussagen wollen, ich sei in Auschwitz gewesen. Aber so einfach ist das nicht, denn was immer ihr denken mögt, ich komm nicht von Auschwitz her, ich stamm aus Wien. . . . Auschwitz war nur ein gräßlicher Zufall" (138). "The word Auschwitz has such an aura today, even if it is a negative one, that it determines one's thoughts about a person if one knows that they have been there. People who want to say something of importance about me will mention that I was in Auschwitz. But it is not that simple, for whatever you may think, I am not from Auschwitz, I am from Vienna Auschwitz was just a horrible accident." My translation.

Chapter Five Belated Interventions

1. It grew from 40,000 in 1990 to 60,000 by 1992. Sergio Dellapergola, "An Overview of the Demographic Trends of European Jewry," *Jewish Identities in the New Europe*, ed. Jonathan Webber (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1994) 64–65. Dellapergola discusses the difficulty of finding reliable data, however, since one deals within most Jewish communities with both a "core" and an "enlarged" Jewish community, the latter is often not counted in more strict population counts. This "enlarged" community is nevertheless important for my study.
2. By the 1980s, about 30,000 Jews lived in the Federal Republic. These numbers change drastically with the fall of the Soviet Union and the influx of Russian-Jewish émigrés, about 11,000 between 1970 and 1993. If one includes converts to Judaism and those with at least two Jewish grandparents who do not identify as Jewish, the total runs about 50,000–70,000 Jews. Y. Michal Bodemann, "A Reemergence of German Jewry?" *Reemerging Jewish Culture in Germany*, ed. Gilman and Remmler 49. Over the past decade with Russian-Jewish emigrants numbering about 50,000 in total, this number has grown still larger, to close to 95,000 Jews.
3. Lorenz, "The Case of" 240.
4. Sander L. Gilman, "Jewish Writers in Contemporary Germany: The Dead Author Speaks," *Inscribing the Other* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991) 249–278.
5. Zipes too, notes that when the "Jewish contribution" to German culture of the postwar years was discussed "most of the attention in the public sphere was paid to dead Jews. . . . émigrés, outsiders, or exceptions." Zipes, "The Contemporary Fascination" 18.
6. Brumlik, "The Situation" 10.
7. Gilman and Zipes, "Introduction," *Yale Companion* xxiii.

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